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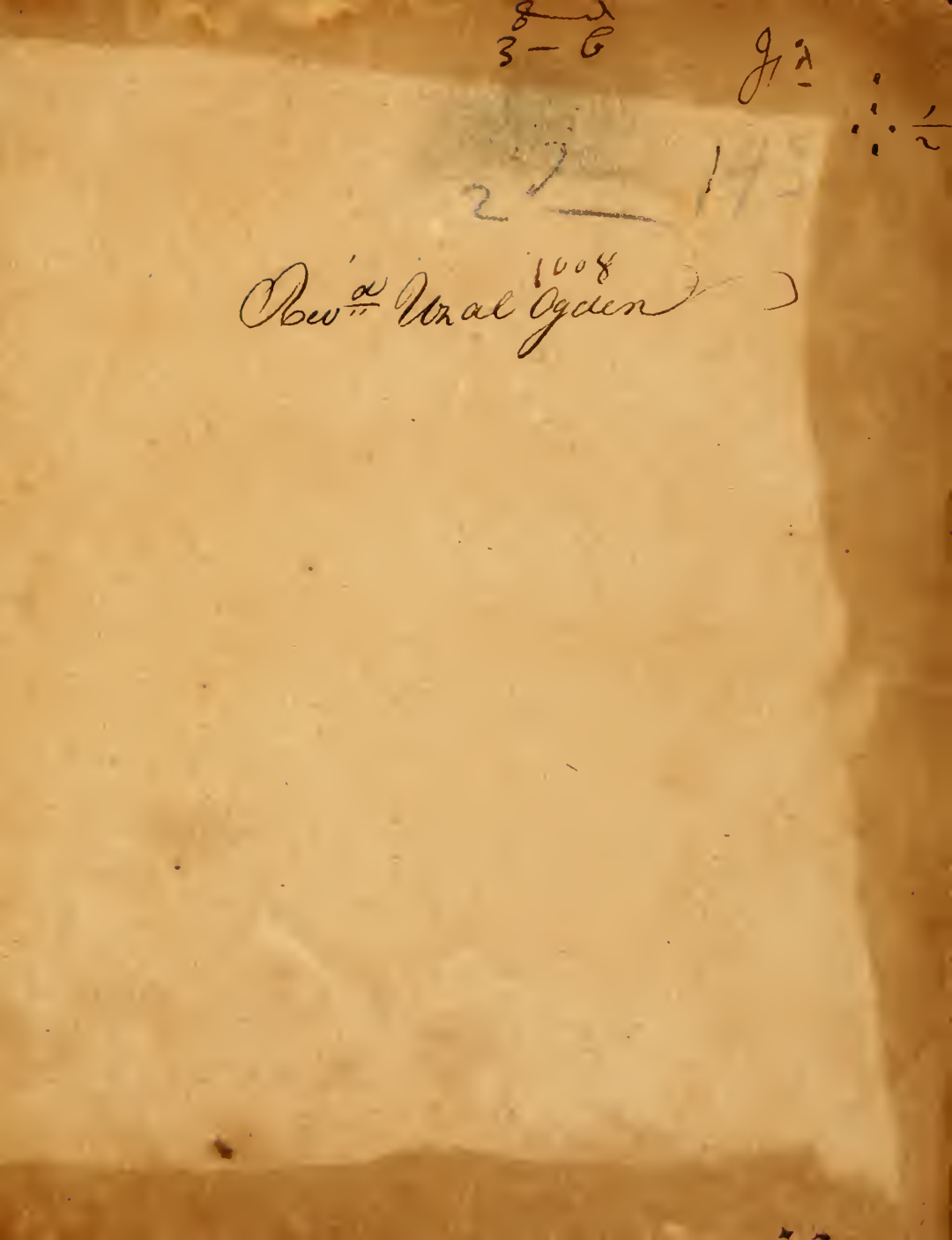
Rev. Uriah Ogden
1008

REMARKS

UPON

The Ecclesiastical History

OF THE

Antient Churches

OF THE

ALBIGENSES.

By *PETER ALLIX*, D. D.
Treasurer of the Church of *Sarum.*

IMPRIMATUR.
August 3. 1691. *Z. Isham, R. P. D. Henrico Episc. Lond. à Sacris.*

LONDON,
Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCXCII.

TO THE

QUEEN.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THIS Defence of the *Albigenſes*, the Antient and Illuſtrious Confeſſors, who ſome Ages ago enlightned the Southern Parts of *France*, is laid down at your Majeſty's Feet for Your Protection, as well as their Succeſſors do now fly into your Dominions for Relief. That Charity which moves your Majeſty to protect them by your Gracious Favour, and ſupport them by your Royal Bounty, makes me preſume to offer this Hiſtorical Apology to your Sacred Majeſty.

Their Faith was in moſt things the ſame with that which our Reformers taught in oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*; and after all the Endeavours that have been uſed to blacken them by the moſt horrid Calumnies, as well as to deſtroy them by the cruelleſt Inquiſitions and Croiſades, the Innocency of their Lives, and the Exemplarineſs of their Deaths, makes them to be juſtly gloried in as the true Authors of the Reformation.

It was from them that this Church (now ſo happy in your Majeſty) receiv'd the firſt Beams of that heavenly Light, which it now enjoys, and which it of late maintained with ſuch vaſt Advantages, that it is deſervedly eſteemed the chief Body, as well as the juſteſt Glory, of the whole Reformation. The Perſecutions of thoſe earlieſt Reſtorers of the Doctrine

Doctrine of Jeſus Chirſt, drove them out of their Country, and forced many to fly into this Kingdom for ſhelter, who brought with them the firſt Seeds of thoſe Truths which have ſince yielded ſo plentiful an Encreaſe. There is nothing in this Hiſtory that will either ſtrike or charm. Thoſe true Diſciples of their crucified Maſter, were conſiderable for nothing but the Purity of their Doctrine, the Innocency of their Lives, and the Patience as well as the Conſtancy of their Sufferings. But the Glories of this World which ſurround your Majeſty, do not darken or leſſen in your Eſteem theſe diſtinguiſhing Characters of the Religion of Chriſt our Saviour, and of thoſe his Suffering Members, in whoſe Afflictions you are pleaſed to take ſo great a ſhare, that you do very much diminiſh

niſh their own ſenſe of them, and make them ſo much the eaſier by thoſe vaſt Supports you give them.

May that God who has raiſed up your Majeſty to ſupport Religion, and protect its Confeſſors in their loweſt Circumſtances, and who has ſo miraculouſly preſerved and proſpered the King and your Majeſty in Oppoſition to the Enemies and Perſecutors of his Truth, ſtill pour down the richeſt of his Bleſſings upon your Majeſties; May You perfect what You have ſo gloriouſly begun; May You be Long, Great and Happy here, and infinitely Greater and Happier for ever. Theſe are the daily Wiſhes and moſt earneſt Prayers of,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful, moſt Faithful,

and moſt Obedient Subject,

PETER ALLIX.

THE PREFACE.

IT was no hard matter for us to justify the Waldenses *from the Accusation of Schism, which the Bishop of* Meaux *thought fit to charge upon them; for by shewing the Antiquity, Purity, and Succession of those Churches, I have made it appear, that what the Bishop calls Schism, ought in Justice to be look'd upon as a vigorous Opposition to the false Worship and Usurpations of the* Romish *Faction; and by consequence, that there is no more reason to call the* Waldenses *Schismaticks, because of their refusing Subjection to the Pope, and rejecting the Errors of the Church of* Rome, *than there is to call the Church of* England *Schismatical for the same Reasons.*

But it is so long since the heads of the Church of Rome *have founded their Design of an Universal Monarchy, and so have fitted their Stile to their Pretensions, that it is now become a very familiar thing with them, to treat those as Rebels and Schis-*

Schiſmaticks, who will not ſubmit to their Authority: ſo that we need not wonder if they, who have eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Church of Rome, *and who defend her againſt the Proteſtants, do boldly charge thoſe with Schiſm againſt whom they write, without giving themſelves the trouble of proving their Charge.*

Nay, perhaps we are to think our ſelves obliged to the Biſhop of Meaux, *who raiſing himſelf a little above the common Method of the Doctors of his own Communion, has limited himſelf to accuſe the* Waldenſes *of Schiſm only, whereas he might with as much reaſon, have charg'd them with Hereſy, if he had followed the Writers of Controverſy of his own Party, or the Legends of the Saints of his Communion. For it is certain, that the Writers of Controverſy in the Church of* Rome, *and thoſe who have writ the Lives of thoſe Inquiſitors that have been canoniz'd, have never look'd upon the* Waldenſes *as any other than* Manichees; *ſo thorowly rooted is the Spirit of Calumny in the Members of that Church: the Character of Father of Lies, being very neceſſary to ſupport that of Murtherer honourably, whereof they have been in Poſſeſſion ſo very long.*

I cannot tell whether the Biſhop of Meaux *has forgiven himſelf for his Tenderneſs towards the* Waldenſes, *whom he only treats as Schiſmaticks. For ſeeing one Day informs another, and that thus Men come to refine their Notions to the utmoſt, who knows but the Biſhop, who when he writ his* Book of Variations, *had only obſcurely hinted, that to accuſe the Pope of being Antichriſt, was a Character of* Manicheiſm; *who knows, I ſay, but that now he ſees ſo clearly, that the* Waldenſes *have formally declared that the Pope is Antichriſt, he will not a-new make them* Manichees *once more, the better to accommodate himſelf with the Maxims of his New Syſtem? If he ſhould not do it himſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being guilty of a Variation, at leaſt it's very obvious to believe, that ſome of thoſe who are engaged with him in the ſame Cauſe, will not fail of taking that Courſe; and therefore I am glad I have prevented him, by ſhowing, that the* Waldenſes *were no* Manichees, *though they took the Pope to be Antichriſt.*

Be it as it will, I hope it will not be harder for us to juſtify the Albigenſes *from the Accuſations brought againſt them by the Biſhop of*

Meaux. *He uſes his utmoſt Endeavours to maintain a moſt abominable Calumny raiſed by his Predeceſſors, and ſtrives, by repreſenting the* Albigenſes *as a People who had revived the Errors of the* Manichees, *to make them equally odious to thoſe of the Church of* Rome, *and the* Proteſtants *of* France, *whom his Violence, together with that of his Colleagues, have forc'd to take upon them the external Profeſſion of Popery.*

The Jews built the Tombs of thoſe Prophets, whom their Fathers ſlew; proceſs of Time having cur'd them of their Fury, that enrag'd their Forefathers againſt the Ambaſſadors of Heaven. Thoſe of the Church of Rome *only, know not what it is to diſown the Rage and Slanders of their Predeceſſors. She has accuſed the* Albigenſes *of* Manicheiſm, *and has done it on purpoſe to inſpire her Votaries with a barbarous Cruelty, againſt a People, who refus'd to bear the Yoak of her Tyranny: And 'tis to pleaſe her, that her Miniſters muſt ſtill go on to tear the Memory of thoſe faithful Servants of God, for the utter Extirpation of whom ſhe formerly armed the Hands of all the furious Zealots of her Communion.*

And

And as in handling the Hiſtory of the Waldenſes, *I thought needful for the Satisfaction of the Reader, to make ſome Remarks on their Original, their Succeſſion, their Separation from the Church of* Rome, *and their Miniſtry; ſo I intend now to follow the ſame Method exactly in theſe Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the* Albigenſes; *and I hope this will be equally uſeful to ſhew what care God hath taken to preſerve theſe other illuſtrious Witneſſes of his Truth, notwithſtanding all thoſe Corruptions that overſpread the Churches of the Weſt.*

I have ſet down the Character of the Manichees, *both Antient and Modern, in my* Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Churches of *Piedmont, ſo fully, that it will not be neceſſary to repeat what I ſay there in this Treatiſe.*

1. *Becauſe it is certain, that it was rather Humour in the Biſhop of* Meaux, *that he did not accuſe them of* Manicheiſm, *than any due regard to Truth, the* Waldenſes *having been as much accuſed of* Manicheiſm, *as the* Albigenſes; *neither are there any more ſolid Proofs to convict the* Albigenſes *of thoſe Errors, than the* Waldenſes.

2. *Becauſe this new Hypotheſis of the Biſhop of* Meaux, *wherein he aſſerts, that to accuſe the Pope of being Antichriſt, is a Character of* Manicheiſm, *is ſo exceſſively ridiculous, that it is hard to gueſs, how even the Biſhop himſelf, could ever give Entertainment to it.*

It is a very ſurprizing thing to ſee the Biſhop maintain, in his new Commentary upon the Revelation, *that the Prophecies of St.* John *concerning Antichriſt, were actually accompliſhed above* 1200 *Years ſince. Antichriſt then muſt have made his eſcape in the Crowd, without being at all perceiv'd; for the greateſt Lights of the Church, and thoſe who had their Eyes moſt open to diſcover him, never perceiv'd any thing of all this.* Vega *and* Ribera, *who have written on the* Revelations *with as much Learning as the Biſhop of* Meaux, *were never able to make any Diſcovery in antient Hiſtory that could be applicable to the Apocalypſe; and all the* Romiſh *Writers of Controverſy, muſt have been a Company of Aſſes, not to ſtumble upon ſo eaſy an Anſwer, which would eternally have ſtopp'd the Mouths of the Proteſtants in ſo tickliſh and tender a Point.*

But

But 'tis no matter, since two Protestant Authors, and those of the first Rank too, Grotius *and* Hammond, *have handed this Notion to the Bishop: it being very probable, that the Bishop did for this Reason, hinder the Clergy from putting the Works of* Grotius *in the Catalogue of Books, which they forbad a little before the Revocation of the Edict of* Nantes: *and he would have been as civil to Dr.* Hammond *too, if his Commentary upon the New Testament had been known to him, any where else than in* Pool's *Synopsis. And really these great Men very well deserv'd, that a particular Regard should be had to them; their Mistake in the point of Antichrist having prov'd as advantageous to the Church of* Rome, *as their learned Works can be profitable to the Protestants.*

But it is yet a more surprizing thing to see the Bishop make this Charge of the Albigenses *against the Pope, a Character of their being* Manichees, *which none that have ever writ against them before, have taken the least notice of.*

Whatever the Success may be of so groundless a Charge, I shall make it appear, that the Bishop of Meaux *could not accuse the* Albigenses, *without making great Numbers of his best Catholicks suspected,*

and

and Abettors of the Manicheism *of the* Albigenses *in this Point.*

I thought it was my Duty to clear Wicklef *and his Disciples from the Slanders cast upon them by the Bishop of* Meaux: *I know very well, that he has done nothing, but repeat the old Calumnies wherewith the Papists formerly endeavoured to blacken that great Man, without taking the least notice of the Apologies that have been made in his behalf. But either Men must resolve never to write against these Gentlemen, or be content to undergo the Drudgery of repeating publickly those solid Answers that have been returned to their Accusations before; which the Writers of the* Romish *Party always think fit to dissemble.*

I hope however, that seeing the Matter I undertake to treat of, naturally engaged me to take notice of great Numbers of Matters of Fact, which were necessary to be examined towards the clearing of this Subject; and that the Malice and Cruelty of the Enemies of these antient Christians have robb'd us of what might be most material for their Justification: the Reader will not expect, I should put these Remarks into any other form, than that in which I wrote my Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Churches of

of *Piedmont. For I could neither write a continued History, nor dispense with the Examination of several Matters of Fact, which could not be cleared so well as they ought, without some critical Enquiries, that will be unpleasant to all those who search for any thing else but Truth. I have confined my self here entirely to the enquiry after, and illustration of that alone; and I am perswaded, that those who will take the pains to weigh what I have said in these following Sheets with care, will be of the same Opinion. And I heartily wish, that it may triumph over Falshood, and Innocence prevail against all the Assaults of Obloquy and Slander.*

COR-

CORRIGENDA.

THe Reader is desired to make Allowances for these Alterations in the first 100 Pages; because the Publisher had not the Original *French* Copy till those Sheets were wrought off; and he thinks, that all Men will sooner excuse him for annexing them to the Preface, where they may appear not so beautiful, than if he should have suffered them to pass unregarded, since that might have led the Reader into Mistakes, and at last reflected upon himself. He says this the more willingly, because he is confident that no Man will charge the Author with it in the least, since his Unacquaintedness with our Language, easily justifies him from any manner of Imputation upon that Account.

Page 6. Line 20. read *Gauls, which they remained.* p. 7. l. 21. for *Photinus* r. *Pothinus.* p. 10. l. penult, r. *by Fenardentius.* p. 19. l. 31. r. *preserved us one of his Books.* p. 24. l. 24. r. *trusting Chastity with any.* p. 27. l. 20. r. *Pope* Syricius *to* Hymerius. p. 30. l. 1. r. *But the pleasantest thing of all is, that St.* Jerome. —— l. 11. f. *Deum* r. *Diem.* p. 31. l. 11. for *Deo* read *alio.* p. 33. l. 22. r. *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, cap. 34. p. 37. l. 24. r. *being ill-advised.* p. 39. l. 7. from the bottom, for *That great Emperor*, r. Maximus *the Emperor.*

Page 47. l. 19. after *mentem*, add, *Nam taliter ferme omnes agunt, ut eos non tam putes antea pœnitentiam criminum egisse, quam postea ipsius pœnitentiæ pœnitere: nec tam prius pœnituisse quod male vixerint, quam postea quod se promiserint bene esse victuros: Novum prorsus conversionis genus! licita non faciunt, & illicita committunt. Temperant à concubitu, & non temperant à rapina. ——— Quid agis stulta persuasio? Peccata interdixit Deus non Matrimonia; non conveniunt studiis vestris facta vestra: non debetis esse amici criminum, qui dicitis vos sectatores esse virtutum.* "Who under a shew of Religion, are Slaves to the Vices of this World; who "having taken upon themselves a Title of Holiness, after the Reproaches and "Scandals of former Crimes, do not alter their Lives by a new Conversation, "but change their Names by a new Profession; and thinking that the Sum of "the Worship of God lies more in their Clothes than their Actions, they have "only changed their Garments, not their Minds: for they do almost all things, *&c.*

P. 62. l. 4. from bott. for *the Prayer* r. *Prayers.* p. 69. l. 3. r. *use of again.* p. 70. l. 4. r. *find solved in.*

P. 78. l. 32. *once mentioned* shou'd be in Italick. p. 81. l. 19. from *concerning Expositors* to *which sort of Writings*, must be struck out; and these Words put in; "The blessed Father *Augustin* has told us, that we ought to have quite another "Opinion of Expositions, than that which you hold; who in his Book against "*Faustas* the *Manichee*, speaks not only of those which have been blamed by "Learned Men, but also of those which have been approved of, after this manner. Which sort of Writings, *&c.* P. 88. l. 11. dele *giving that account of.* p. 113. l. 18. r. *continual.* p. 141. l. 5. dele *of.* p. 156. l. 18. f. *Hours* r. *Times.* p. 180. l. 7. r. *the conduct.* p. 183. l. 13. r. *Heresies.* p. 206. col. 1. l. 17. for *Anglicâ*, which seems to be a Mistake either in the Copy, or in the Original MS. r. *Angelicâ.* —— l. 26. f. *sive* r. *sive.* p. 208. col. 1. l. 5. f. *enim* r. *eum.* p. 227. l. 15. dele ,. P. 248. l. 10. r. *Stere of* ****

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RE-

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Country of the Albigenſes.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Original of the Churches of Gallia Narbonenſis *and* Aquitain.

BEfore the Gauls were entirely reduc'd by *Ceſar* under the Power of the Roman Empire, and after that under the ſaid Emperor, *Gallia* was commonly divided into two Parts, whereof the one was called *Braccata*, the other *Comata*. *Gallia Braccata* contained not only that part of *Italy*, which is beyond the *Alps*, and was named *Ciſalpina*, but alſo *Gallia Narbonenſis*, whereof *Vienna* was

the Capital City. The other, to wit, *Gallia Comata*, was divided into three parts; the first whereof was called *Belgica*, the other *Celtica*, and the third *Aquitain*. But *Augustus* being absolute Master of *Gaule*, made some Alteration in this Division; for he extended the Bounds of *Aquitain*, by restraining those of *Celtica*, and distinguished *Aquitain* into three Provinces, whereof the first and second were on this side of the *Garonne*, and reached to the *Loyre*; the third reached from the *Garonne* to the Pyrenean Mountains. *Bourges* and *Bourdeaux* were the Mother-Cities of the first and second of these Provinces; and *Eulse* or *Eaulse* was the Metropolis of the third, which City having been destroyed by the Wars, *Ausch* succeeded her in that Dignity.

As for *Gallia Narbonensis*, which at first was only a Province, whereof *Vienna* was the Capital City, *Augustus* was pleased to take that Honour from her, to bestow it upon *Lions*, which seemed to him more commodious to be made the Seat of Government. This Province was afterward changed, by being divided into four Parts, *viz.* into *Narbonensis*, *Viennensis*, the *Maritime Alps* and the *Greek Alps*. And after this Division, *Narbonensis* was again subdivided into two parts, the first and second, as may be seen since the fourth Century.

It was needful at the entrance of this Discourse, to give the Reader this short Draught of the Countries that went under the Name of *Gallia*, to give him an Idea of that part of them, where we intend to shew him the Continuation of that Church which gave birth to the Albigenses, and furnished the West with Witnesses of so great weight against the Corruptions of the Romish Party; and indeed though the *Visi-Gothes*, who cut off these Provinces from the Roman Empire; and afterwards the French, who destroyed the *Visi-Gothes* in the time of *Clovis*, made very great Changes in this Division of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Aquitain*, yet we may exactly observe, that the Church of these Provinces, hath well nigh always made a distinct Body by her Synods and Canons.

It is a matter of Difficulty precisely to fix the first Rise of these Churches. I own that some Greek Fathers have believ'd, that St. *Luke* and *Crescens*, Disciples of St. *Paul*, did preach the Gospel

Goſpel in *Gallia*; but that which engaged them in this Opinion, ſeems of little or no ſolidity. And the *Galatia* mention'd by St. *Paul* in the ſecond of *Timothy*, doth not ſignify *Gallia*, but a Province of the leſſer *Aſia*, as the learned *Petavius* acknowledgeth.

Others have believed, that St. *Paul* himſelf preached the Goſpel in theſe Provinces, as he paſſed through them in his way to *Spain*, where the fourth Century took it for granted that he preached the Goſpel: but neither doth this ſeem grounded upon ſufficient Authority; and we do not find that the antient Authors of theſe Countries did ever maintain any ſuch thing.

Should we indeed, as to this Point, give credit to the moſt part of the Romiſh Legends, to which *Baronius* in his Annals pays too great a Deference, it would be an eaſy matter to give to the moſt part of theſe Churches a moſt auguſt Original. We might ſuppoſe that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were the Founders of them by the Miniſtry of their Diſciples, or that *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent them thither almoſt immediately after the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. They tell us that *Paul* was the firſt Biſhop of *Narbon*, *Saturninus* of *Thoulouſe*, *Martialis* of *Limoges*, *Frontinus* of *Perigueux*, *Vincentius* of *Daeqs*, *Georgius* of *Puy*, *Eutropius* of *Xaintes*: Much like as for ſome Ages ſince, in moſt of the other Churches of *France*, they ſuppoſe that the firſt Biſhops were ſent them by the ſame Apoſtles, or by their firſt Succeſſors.

But we meet with nothing but Falſities in theſe pretended Traditions: and it is impoſſible to reconcile them with what *Sulpicius Severus* and *Gregorius Turonenſis* tell us concerning the Riſe of Chriſtian Religion among the Gauls. The former of theſe diſtinctly aſſures us, that *Gaule* never had any Martyrs before the Empire of *Aurelius* Son of *Antoninus*, Hiſt. lib. 2. *Sub Aurelio Antonini filio Perſecutio quinta agitata; ac tunc primum inter Gallias Martyria viſa, ſerius trans Alpes Dei Religione ſuſcepta.* "The fifth Perſecution was carried on under *Aurelius*, *Antonine*'s "Son; and then firſt were Martyrdoms ſeen among the Gauls, "the Divine Religion having been later entertained beyond "the *Alps*. This ſingle Period of *Severus* gives Sentence againſt

all thoſe pretended Martyrs wherewith the Churches of *France* have fill'd their Breviaries. The latter tells us plainly, that it was not till the Empire of *Decius*, about the year 250, that the City of *Tholouſe* had for her firſt Biſhop *Saturninus*, who was ſent from *Rome* in company of ſix others, into the Country of the Gauls, to preach the Goſpel, to wit, *Gatian* at *Tours*, *Trophimus* at *Arles*, *Paul* at *Narbon*, *Dionyſius* at *Paris*, *Auſtremoine* at *Clermont*, and *Martialis* at *Limoges*. This is that which is clearly proved from the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Saturninus*, cited by *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*.

Theſe Teſtimonies of two antient Authors, the one of the *5th* Century, and the other more antient, *viz.* the ſame who wrote the Martyrdom of St. *Saturninus*, have made ſuch an Impreſſion upon ſome of the Learnedeſt Men of the Roman Communion, *viz.* upon *Boſquet* Biſhop of *Montpellier*, *Sirmond*, and *Launoy* the famous Doctor of the Faculty of *Paris*, as to make them with Scorn reject thoſe Legends, which aſcribe more antient Founders to theſe Churches, notwithſtanding that they are the greateſt Ornament of the Breviaries of the Gallican Church, and that they cannot loſe their Credit, without ſhaking the belief of abundance of Miracles, and the Authority of a great number of Devotions.

And indeed, what reaſon is there to own a Tradition for authentick, which we ſcarcely find back'd with any Witneſs for the ſpace of above 700 years? Beſides, don't we know, that it was the Diſpute about Precedency between the Churches in the *8th* and *9th* Century, and which we find laſted till the *12th*, that engaged the ſeveral Parties to deviſe this great Antiquity, and boldly change that, which before had been the current Belief of their Churches, becauſe it did not anſwer their Pretenſions, nor comport with their Vanity, to ſubſtitute inſtead thereof fabulous Originals, under whoſe ſhelter they might maintain a Diſpute with more advantage againſt thoſe that were on even ground with them?

But however it be difficult to fix the certain Original of theſe Churches, for the Gothick Liturgy, which was uſed in theſe Provinces, aſſures us that St. *Saturninus* came from *Smyrna*, from whence it ſhould ſeem that the firſt Founders of the Churches

of

of *Lions* and *Vienna* came likewiſe, yet thus much we may aſſert that the Goſpel ſoon took deep root there.

My Deſign is not to refute here what the Authors of the Legends have inſerted in their fabulous Relations, concerning the Eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Religion in theſe Provinces, and the Character of the Piety of thoſe firſt Founders of Chriſtianity, of their Precepts and of their Miracles. Indeed there is reaſon to deplore either the boundleſs Impudence of the Paſtors of the Roman Communion, in obtruding ſuch palpable Falſities, or the prodigious Stupidity of the People of that Church, who feed themſelves with Stories more fabulous than thoſe of *Amadis* of *Gaul*, and make them the Subject of their Devotion. We read in the Life of St. *Martialis*, that after the Saint had converted *Limoges*, he there conſecrated Churches to the Honour of Jeſus Chriſt, of the H. Virgin, and St. *Stephen*, whoſe Couſin he was. We read that he raiſed to Life the Prieſts of the Idol, whom God had ſtruck dead with a Clap of Thunder, for their poiſoning St. *Martialis*; and that, after their Reſurrection, he converted them. We find that he admitted to the Vow of Virginity a Perſon called *Valeria*, who ſome time after having had her Head cut off, by order of the Duke of *Guienne*, whoſe Courtſhip ſhe had ſlighted, immediately took up her Head, and carried it to St. *Martialis*, as he was ſaying Maſs. We find him there going to *Rome* to give an account to St. *Peter* of his Commiſſion: all this is very gravely related by the *Legendaries*; yea, the Impudence of theſe Knaves proceeded to that Point, as in the ninth Century, to conciliate Authority to theſe fabulous Relations. Several Councils were aſſembled at *Limoges*, where with intolerable Impudence they impoſed two Epiſtles upon St. *Martialis*, the one as writ to thoſe of *Tholouſe*, and the other to thoſe of *Bourdeaux*, and which bear much a like Reſemblance to the Apoſtolical Writings of thoſe times, as Aſſes do to Lions: and all that theſe inſipid Authors tell us about it, is ſo entirely framed according to the Manners, Notions and Cuſtoms of the later Ages, that we can find nothing in their Writings but what ſome ſtupid Monks have inſolently invented and patch'd together, with ſo little regard to Reaſon, that one of theſe extravagant Fellows maintains that the

the Bleſſed Virgin was ſaying her Roſary at the time ſhe was viſited by the Angel *Gabriel.*

It is not certainly known whether the Books which St. *Irenæus* has written againſt the *Valentinians*, ought to perſwade us that thoſe Hereticks had then already ſpread themſelves among the *Gauls*; for ſeeing he writ them in Greek, this Work ſeems to have been deſigned againſt the Hereticks of the Eaſt; for though we have a Tranſlation of theſe Books, more ancient than the time of S. *Auſtin*, yet we have no Proof that it was done with Deſign to refute Perſons who had endeavoured to corrupt the Faith from the very Beginning of its Eſtabliſhment in *Gaul.*

True it is, that in the fourth Century, *Arianiſm* had conſiderably corrupted and infected the Purity of theſe Dioceſſes: *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, and thoſe of his Cabal, having condemned St. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poitiers*, for an Heretick, becauſe he oppoſed Arianiſm with all his Might; but ſoon after we find that Truth raiſed her ſelf again from under its Ruins: For though at the beginning of the fifth Century the *Viſi-Gothes* who were Arians, had made themſelves Maſters of theſe Provinces of the *Gauls*, and which they remain poſſeſs'd of till they were taken from them by *Clovis* King of *France*; yet we do not find that Arianiſm ever prevailed there, the Vigilance of the Paſtors having prevented the Peoples yielding ſo far to the Authority of theſe *Arian* Kings, as to follow them in their Error, the very Nature of theſe Diſputes ingaging the Enemies of the Church to maintain ſuch Maxims, as put a ſtop to the Peoples Superſtition, with reſpect to the Veneration of Martyrs.

I am not ignorant that St. *Gaudentius* takes notice that ſeveral *Priſcillianiſts* were ſcattered up and down theſe Provinces, and *Priſcillianiſm* was nothing elſe but *Manicheiſm* in Perfection, as appears from the Writings of St. *Auſtin.* But this evil Plant withered ſoon after; both the Arians, who were Maſters, and the Orthodox, equally joining their Endeavours to confound that Hereſy. Neither indeed do we find after the ſixth Century, any mention made of *Priſcillianiſts* in theſe parts; ſo that we may affirm that Chriſtianity was preſerved there with much Purity in thoſe primitive times, and arrived to ſuch a Degree

gree of Strength and Vigor, as to baniſh both thoſe Hereſies, whereof the one attack'd the Father of our Saviour, and the other denied the Divinity of the Son.

But what I have already ſaid in general, is not ſufficient to give us a competent and juſt Idea of the Chriſtianity which was planted in theſe Provinces, and which the *Albigenſes* have ſo happily aſſerted, both by their Preachings and Sufferings. We muſt therefore take a Review of theſe Primitive Ages, and conſider a little wherein conſiſted that Religion which theſe Dioceſſes received from thoſe firſt Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, who conveyed thither the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and tranſmitted the ſame to Poſterity, as a ſacred Truſt committed to them.

CHAP. II.

The Faith of the Church of the Gauls *in the Second Century.*

WE have no *Gallick* Author, whoſe Name is ſo famous as St. *Irenæus*; he was a Diſciple of St. *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*; and being ſent into *Gaul* by that Apoſtolick Man, he was firſt Prieſt of the Church of *Lions*, and afterwards ſucceeded *Photinus*, firſt Biſhop of that City; it was in his time that the Church ſuffered the fifth Perſecution under the Government of the Emperors *Verus* and *Marcus Aurelius*. *Euſebius* has preſerved the Relation of the Martyrdom of the Believers of *Lions* and *Vienna*, which according to all Probability is judged to have been made by St. *Irenæus* in the Name of both theſe Churches. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 20.

This Relation tells us firſt of all, that the Roman Preſident having cauſed ſome Slaves to be apprehended that belong'd to Chriſtians, made them confeſs, at the Sight of Tortures prepared

pared for them, that the Christians did eat Children in their Assemblies, and that they there promiscuously polluted themselves by abominable Incests; which was afterwards confirmed by weak Christians, who for fear of Torments abjured their Religion.

2. That the Christians having confuted this Calumny, by their Constancy in induring the Torments, and above all the rest *Blandina*, who after a whole day's suffering Tortures, having cried with a loud Voice, *I am a Christian: there is no Wickedness committed amongst us:* (which was seconded by *Byblis*, who before had abjured) *How*, said she, *should the Christians, to whom it is not lawful to eat the Blood of Beasts, devour Infants?*

3. *Blandina* is represented to us in these Acts, as praying to God with great Affection, and as it were conversing with Jesus Christ in Prayer. *Attalus* being set in a Chair of Iron, to be there burnt, and perceiving the smell of his broiled Flesh, said to the Spectators in Latin; *In hoc demum est homines vorare quod agitis; nos verò neque homines voramus, neque omnino quicquam mali facimus.* "This that ye do here is indeed to devour Men; but as for us, we neither devour Men, nor do any "thing at all that is evil.

Lastly; The Church was desirous to bury what remained of their Bodies, as the Relation informs us, but the Fury of the Pagans who burnt them to Ashes, hindred them: These are the chiefest Heads of this Relation, where we find nothing but God and Jesus Christ called upon, where we do not see the Believers troubling themselves to explain or qualify the corporal Manducation of the Body of Jesus Christ, as it became them to have done, had they believed their eating of him with their bodily Mouth; and where there is not the least Word that might give us to understand that these Churches took care to preserve these so precious Relicks, to honour them with their Adorations, as in latter times has been done.

We find here also the Spirit of Calumny transporting the Heathens against the Disciples of Jesus Christ; and how far the Cruelty of Torments may prevail to make Men confess the most enormous Calumnies to be true. The Reader must not forget these two Characters of old *Rome*, because the Inquisitors

quiſitors have renewed theſe very ſame Slanders againſt the Albigenſes, and have pretended to confirm them by Confeſſions which the Cruelty of their Tortures have forced from them.

Neither is it only in this Work of his, that St. *Irenæus* informs us, what in his time was the Faith of theſe Churches planted in *Gaul*, for he hath left us five Books, and *Euſebius* has preſerved for us ſome Epiſtles of that ancient Biſhop, altogether refulgent with the Purity of the Faith delivered by the Apoſtles.

1. St. *Irenæus* gives us this for one Character of the Gnoſticks, that they embraced Doctrines which were not to be found in the Writings of the Prophets or the Apoſtles, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *p.* 33.

And 'tis with the ſame Spirit that he attributes to Hereticks, the accuſing of the Scripture for being unintelligible, without the Help of Tradition, whereas he maintains that that which had been preached, was committed to Writing by the ſpecial Will of God, to the end it might be the Ground and Pillar of our Faith, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 1, *&* 2. And that it is to make the Apoſtles Hypocrites, to ſuppoſe that they taught ſome things in publick, and others in private; whence it appears clearly, that when he makes uſe of Tradition, he only does it with reſpect to thoſe ſcriptural Doctrines which the Hereticks oppoſed, and whereof they pretended that the Apoſtles had left the contrary to thoſe that ſucceeded them, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 2. 'Tis upon this occaſion that he alledgeth the Teſtimony of the Church of *Rome*, founded by the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, as of one that was moſt known: *Ad hanc enim Eccleſiam* (ſaith he) *propter potentiorem Principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnem convenire Eccleſiam, hoc eſt eos qui ſunt undique fideles, in quo ſemper ab his qui ſunt undique conſervata eſt ea, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis Traditio*; "For to this "Church, becauſe of its more powerful Superiority, it be- "hoves the whole Church to come, that is, the Believers "of all Parts, for as much as therein the Tradition from the "Apoſtles has always been preſerved by the Believers of all "parts. It is apparent that whatſoever Deſign he may have had to raiſe the Authority of the Church of *Rome*; he makes no other uſe of it, than to make out, that it was impoſſible thoſe Doctrines which the Hereticks gave out for Apoſtolical,

ſhould be really ſo, ſeeing they were unknown to a Church which had had the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors for her Guides, more eſpecially ſeeing that Church was placed in the very Seat of the Empire, which continually drew to *Rome* a vaſt number of Believers from all the different places of the Empire, from whence they brought not along with them a different Tradition from that which they found in the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*.

That St. *Irenæus* had no other aim but this, is owned by *F. Queſnel* in his Notes upon the tenth Epiſtle of St. *Leo*, *pag.* 809. And this appears evidently, becauſe after all that Eſteem which he had for the Church of *Rome*, he was not afraid to write to her Biſhop very cenſuring Letters, upon the account of his having excommunicated the Churches of *Aſia*, that celebrated Eaſter the fourteenth of the Moon of *March*; as alſo becauſe he continued in the Communion of thoſe Churches of *Aſia*, without being concerned at the Excommunication of the Pope of *Rome*.

2. He reduces the whole Faith of Chriſtians throughout the World, to that which we call the Apoſtles Creed, without mentioning ſo much as a Word of thoſe Doctrines which the Church of *Rome* has ſuperadded to it, pretending to confirm them by Tradition, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2.

3. He maintains the Scriptures to be both clear and perfect, *Lib.* 2. *c.* 47.

4. He rejects the Doctrines which the Hereticks grounded upon the Explication of ſome Parables, maintaining that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed, but upon clear and evident places of Scripture, *Lib.* 2. *c.* 46.

5. It appears by his Writings, that Penance at that time was publick, without diſpenſing with Women that were overtaken with the Sins of Uncleanneſs, by which means being expoſed to extream Confuſion, it made ſome of them abjure Chriſtianity, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.

6. He makes it appear that *Celibat* was not yet known in *Aſia*, whence theſe firſt Chriſtians of the *Gauls* derived their Original, which is acknowledged by the *Fevardentius*, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.

7. He

7. He aſſigns to the *Marcoſians* the cuſtom of anointing thoſe they received into their Communion, with Balm, [*Opobalſamo*] which ſhews, that at that time extream Unction was not known: And we may make the ſame Obſervation from his imputing to other Hereticks the anointing of Perſons at the Point of Death, with Oil and Water, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 18.

8. He attributes to the Gnoſticks, the Imitation of the Heathens, becauſe they had the Images of Jeſus Chriſt, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 24. which makes it evident that the Chriſtians had no Images, much leſs that they gave to them any religious Worſhip. And indeed we find him reaſoning, *lib.* 2. *c.* 6. after ſuch a manner, as ſhews that the Chriſtians were yet in full Poſſeſſion of a Right to reproach the Heathens with all thoſe Abſurdities that ariſe from the Uſe of Images. The ſame may alſo be gathered from *lib.* 2. *c.* 42. where he divides the Law into two Tables, in a manner very different from that of the Doctors of the Roman Church, and altogether conformable to the Judgment of *Joſephus* and other Jewiſh Doctors.

9. He makes it appear that he knew nothing of the Separability of Accidents from their Subjects, which is the ſole Support of Tranſubſtantiation, *lib.* 2. *c.* 14.

10. He in plain terms rejects the Invocation of Angels, inſtead thereof recommending that of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *lib.* 2. *c.* 57.

11. He aſſerts that the Bleſſed Virgin had unſeaſonable Motions, *intempeſtivam feſtinationem*, *John* 2. 3. ſo far was he from believing her wholly free from Sin, *lib.* 2. *c.* 18. This ſhews that when he ſaith, *cap.* 33. *Quod alligavit Virgo Eva per incredulitatem, hoc Virgo Maria ſolvit per fidem*; "What the Vir-"gin *Eve* bound up by her Unbelief, that the Virgin *Mary* ſet "free by her Faith; he doth not own the Virgin for the Perſon that ſaved Men, but his meaning is like that of *Heſychius*, who ſaid, ſpeaking of the Women to whom Jeſus Chriſt appeared after his Reſurrection; *Invenêre enim*, ſaith he, *mulieres, quod olim amiſere per Evam, lucrum invenit ea, quæ damni occaſionem præbuerat.* "For the Women found what formerly they "loſt by *Eve*; ſhe found the Gain, who had been an occaſion of "the Loſs, *T.* 15. *B. P. p.* 823. *col.* 1.

And this is the ſenſe likewiſe of that other Paſſage of St. *Irenæus*, which we find, *lib.* 5. *c.* 19. for though he calls the Virgin, *Eve*'s Advocate, it plainly appears that he meant nothing elſe but what is expreſs'd by St. *Chryſoſtom* in *Pſ.* 44. *T.* 3. *p.* 221. *Virgo nos Paradiſo expulit, per Virginem vitam æternam invenimus.* " A Virgin drove us out of Paradiſe, and by a Virgin we " have found eternal Life.

12. That he did not believe we ought to have recourſe to the Interceſſion of Saints, can be invincibly demonſtrated from hence, becauſe he did not believe that the Faithful ſhould ſee the Face of God before the Day of Judgment, *lib.* 5. *c.* 3.

13. He plainly aſſerts that the Apoſtolical Succeſſion is of no Conſideration without the Truth of Doctrine. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 43. ſo far was he from making it a bar to hinder Believers from examining the Doctrine propounded to them.

14. He maintains that the Gates of Heaven were open'd to Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe of the Aſſumption of his Fleſh; ſo far was he from believing that his glorified Body could penetrate Bodies. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 18. *& lib.* 4. *c.* 66.

He aſſerts that Jeſus Chriſt, at his being born, opened the Bleſſed Virgin's Womb, *lib.* 4. *c.* 66. which the Church of *Rome* condemns for divers Reaſons.

And for as much as he holds the Holy Ghoſt to be the Food of Life, *lib.* 4. *c.* 75. accordingly he maintains, *c.* 2. *lib.* 5. that our Bodies are nouriſhed by the Creatures of God received in the Euchariſt, and that they receive growth by them.

He diſtinctly aſſerts that the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, as to its Subſtance, conſiſts of Bread and Wine, which are the Creatures of God, which he receives as Oblations of a different kind from the Sacrifices of the old Teſtament; and indeed in caſe he had otherwiſe conceived the matter, he would have favoured the Opinion of the Gnoſticks, who pretending that the Work of the Creation was not the Work of the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, could never have lighted upon a more comfortable Doctrine than that of Tranſubſtantiation, by means of which the Nature of Bread and Wine would be deſtroyed by Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament, and nothing left but the Accidents, that is to ſay, meer Fantomes, without any thing of Reality. *L.* 4. *c.* 34, *&* 57. In

In like manner we find him aſſerting, *lib.* 5. *c.* 33. that what Jeſus Chriſt gave to his Diſciples in the Cup, was the Generation or Product of the Vine.

15. We ſee clearly from what *Euſebius* has preſerved of St. *Irenæus*, that the Variety in obſerving a Faſt before Eaſter was very great, and that there was no Law of the Apoſtles, or of Jeſus Chriſt injoining it, every one uſing it according to his own free Will and Devotion. We find alſo that whatſoever Reſpect St. *Irenæus* had for the Church of *Rome*, he was no more inclined to be led by her ſole Authority, than St. *Polycarp* was, whom he much commends; and if he conſidered her as an Apoſtolick Church, yet he never attributed to her any Authority over the other Flocks of the Lord.

I will not diſſemble that St. *Irenæus* ſeems ſomewhat at a loſs, about the ſtate of Believers after Death; but to this it is ſufficient to ſay; 1. That we find in St. *Irenæus* an Abridgment of the Faith almoſt in the ſame form that we find it in the Apoſtles Creed, as it is called. 2. That if we do not agree to all the Opinions of St. *Irenæus*, about the State of Souls after Death; 'tis certain that the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* do at leaſt reject as many Articles as we do, yea and more too.

From what I have ſaid, we may however perceive what was the State of the Chriſtian Religion in *Gaul*, a little after the middle of the ſecond Century, which is the time wherein St. *Irenæus* lived and flouriſhed.

I wiſh I could produce for the following Century as Authentick a Witneſs concerning the State of the Churches in this part of *Gaul*; but indeed though there were diverſe famous Writers, whoſe Works are cited by St. *Jerome*, yet there is in a manner nothing of them left to us. I know there are ſome who believe that *Victorinus* was Biſhop of *Poictiers* in the third Century: but this is not found true, for it is certain that he was Biſhop of *Paſſau Patavionenſis*, and not *Pictavienſis*; ſo that we muſt proceed to thoſe who can inform us of the State of this part of *Gaul*, during the fourth Century.

CHAP-

CHAP. III.

The Faith of Gallia Aquitanica, *and* Narbonenſis, *in the Fourth Century.*

ST. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, a famous Confeſſor in the Perſecution which the *Arians* ſtirr'd up againſt the Orthodox, can afford us much Light concerning the State and Faith of theſe Dioceſſes: This great Man was married, as he who publiſhed his Works at *Paris* owns, after the famous *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, obſerving that the Law for the Celibacy of the Clergy was not yet introduced, and that before that time, as St. *Jerom* expreſſeth it, they rather made choice of married Perſons, than unmarried, becauſe the former were judged more proper for the Functions of the Holy Miniſtry.

But this is not the only Article wherein he differ'd from Popery, as well as the Church of *Aquitain.*

1. He counts the Canonical Books as we do, and plainly holds them for Apocryphal, which we reject, as we find in the Preface to his Commentary upon the Book of Pſalms.

2. He lays it down for an Error and piece of Impiety to look upon the Scripture as imperfect, in *Pſalm* 118. *Lit. Vau.*

3. He aſſerts that Ignorance is not capable of excuſing Men, ſeeing the Scripture is propoſed to us as the Rule of our Faith and Manners: *Non habet veniam ignoratio voluntatis; quia ſub ſcientiæ facultate neſcire, repudiatæ magis, quam non repertæ ſcientiæ eſt reatus: Ob id enim longè à Peccatoribus ſalus, quia non exquiſierint Juſtificationes Dei: Nam utique non ob aliud conſignatæ literis manent, quam ut ad univerſorum ſcientiam, notionemque defluerent.* "Ignorance of the Divine Will gives no Excuſe; becauſe to "be ignorant when we may learn, makes us guilty of rejecting "Knowledg, rather than miſſing of it: For therefore is Salva- "tion far from Sinners, becauſe they ſearch not after that "which

" which juſtifies before God, and which indeed is for no other " reaſon preſerv'd in Writing, but that it might be derived " to the Knowledg and Underſtanding of all. This is a Stile, and theſe are Maxims very different from thoſe of the Church of *Rome*.

4. He affirms that we are to be ignorant of whatſoever the Scripture doth not teach us: and after having aſſerted, that it is the Character of Hereticks to conceal the Holy Scripture, *fol.* 204. he maintains that it is another Mark of Hereſy to believe beyond what the Goſpel teacheth us. *Tu qui ultra Evangelium ſapis, neceſſe eſt ut aliis alibi arcanorum doctrinis, cognitionem Paterni nominis adeptus ſis.* " Thou who art wiſe beyond " the Goſpel, it muſt needs be that thou haſt elſewhere by " other ſecret Doctrines, attained the Knowledg of God the " Father, *fol* 132.

5. He aſſerts, that it was the Will of God, that the Scripture ſhould be plain and clear. *Quanta enim potuit Dominus, verborum ſimplicitate evangelicam fidem locutus eſt, & in tantum ad intelligentiam noſtram ſermones aptavit, in quantum naturæ noſtræ ferret infirmitas, non tamen ut quicquam minus dignum naturæ ſuæ majeſtate loqueretur.* " The Lord hath expreſs'd the Faith of " the Goſpel in the greateſt Simplicity of Words he could, " and ſo far accommodated his Speech to our Underſtanding, " as the Weakneſs of our Nature would bear, yet ſo as not to " ſpeak any thing unbecoming the Majeſty of his Nature.

6. He there alſo confirms the Fulneſs of Scripture after a moſt Authentick manner: *Lib.* 8. *de Trin. Non eſt humano aut ſeculi ſenſu in Dei rebus loquendum*; " In the things of God we " are not to ſpeak according to a humane or worldly ſenſe and " meaning. And a little after; *Quæ ſcripta ſunt legamus, & quæ legerimus intelligamus, & tunc perfectæ fidei officio fungemur.* " Let us read what is written, and underſtand what we read, " ſo ſhall we diſcharge the Duty of perfect Faith. So likewiſe, *lib.* 5. *p.* 46. *Non eſt de Deo humanis judiciis ſentiendum, neque in nobis ea natura eſt, ut ſe in cœleſtem cognitionem ſuis viribus efferat; à Deo diſcendum eſt, quid ex Deo intelligendum ſit; quia non niſi ſe authore cognoſcitur.* " We muſt not think of God according to " humane Judgment, for neither is our Nature ſuch, to be

" able

" able to raiſe it ſelf by its own Strength to Heavenly Know-
" ledg; we muſt learn of God whatſoever is to be under-
" ſtood of him, becauſe he is not to be known any further
" than as he is the Author of our Knowledg. And a little after; *Loquendum ergo non aliter de Deo eſt, quam ut ipſe ad intelligentiam noſtram de ſe locutus eſt:* " Wherefore we are no " otherwiſe to ſpeak of God, than as he in Compliance with " our Underſtanding, hath ſpoke to us concerning himſelf.

7. He owns no other Foundation of the Church, beſides the Confeſſion of the Divinity of our Saviour, made by St. *Peter*, inſtead of referring it to the Perſon of St. *Peter*, or to the Functions of his Apoſtleſhip; *lib.* 2. *Unum igitur hoc eſt immobile fundamentum, una hæc eſt fœlix fidei Petra, Petri ore confeſſa, Tu es filius Dei vivi.* " This is the only immoveable " Foundation, this is the only happy Rock of Faith confeſs'd " by the Mouth of *Peter*, Thou art the Son of the living " God. And ſo likewiſe, *lib. 6. p. 77. Super hanc igitur Confeſſionis Petram Eccleſiæ ædificatio eſt:* " Wherefore upon the " Rock of this Confeſſion the Church is built.

9. He overthrows all the Exceptions of the Church of *Rome* in favour of the Adoration of Angels, by maintaining that the Angel who appeared to *Abraham* was Jeſus Chriſt; *de Trin. lib. 4. & lib. de Synodis contra Arianos.*

10. He was ſo little of the Belief, that the Faith of the People depends upon that of their Paſtors, that he aſſerts and proves in his Book againſt the *Arians* or *Auxentius*, that the People may continue Orthodox under Heretical Paſtors.

11. He overthrows all Worſhipping of Creatures, which is practiſed by the Church of *Rome*, by maintaining, that if any ſhould worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, believing him to be a Creature, he would be accurſed. *Lib.* 12. *de Trinit.*

12. He dream'd ſo little of the Infallibility of the Pope, which a great part of the Church of *Rome* owns as the greateſt Article, into which the Faith of all Chriſtians muſt be reſolved, that he pronounces many Anathema's againſt *Liberius*, becauſe he had ſubſcribed to an Arian Confeſſion of Faith; as may be ſeen in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, publiſhed by *Pithæus.*

13. He

13. He lays it down for a Maxim, that Jeſus Chriſt alone was without Sin, in his Diſcourſe upon *Pſalm* 58, and 138.

14. He owns God only to have the Power of forgiving Sins, *Can.* 8. in *Matth.* ſo far was he from attributing this Power to Miniſters, as the Church of *Rome* doth at this day.

15. He formally aſſerts that the good Works of one Man are of no avail to deliver another from Puniſhment, which overthrows the great Foundation of Satisfactions and Purgatory, after the manner that the Church of *Rome* makes uſe of them, *Can.* 27. in *Matth.* The wiſe Virgins tell the fooliſh, that they cannot give to them of their Oil; *Quia non ſit forte quod omnibus ſatis ſit, alicnis ſcilicet operibus & meritis neminem adjuvandum, quia unicuique lampadi ſuæ emere oleum ſit neceſſe.* "Leſt perhaps there might not be enough for them all, to intimate that no Body can be helped by the Works and Merits of another, becauſe it is neceſſary for every one to buy Oil for his own Lamp.

16. He was ſo far from believing the Merit of Works, as the Church of *Rome* at preſent doth, that he diſcourſeth thus upon *Pſal.* 118. *lit. Coph. In operibus quidem Bonitatis totus perfectus eſt, ſed ſatis eſſe hoc ſibi non putat ad ſalutem, niſi ſecundum miſerationem Dei & judicia, miſerationem conſequatur.* "He is "indeed wholly perfect in all the Works of Goodneſs, but "he doth not think this ſufficient for his Salvation, except according to the Mercy of God and his Judgments, he obtain "Mercy. And it is the ſame Notion he gives us, ſpeaking of the Parable of the Labourers, upon *Pſal.* 130. *Mercedem non operis ſed miſericordiæ, undecimæ horæ operarii conſequuntur.*

17. We cannot deny but that St. *Hilary* believed a Purgatory, but yet in that Point he differed much from the Church of *Rome*: He owns a Baptiſm of Fire after this Life, but ſuch a Baptiſm as was to be conferred at the laſt Day, *viz.* the Day of Judgment, *Matth. Can.* 2. And that which muſt needs greatly ſcandalize the Papiſts, is, that St. *Hilary* maintains that all Believers, without excepting ſo much as the Bleſſed Virgin, muſt endure the Fire, which he expreſly affirms on *Pſal.* 118.

18. If we have a Mind to know whether he allowed the Notion of the Church of *Rome*, which believes that we can

perfectly fulfil the Law of God; we may eaſily be reſolved by his manner of treating the young Man, who boaſted himſelf before Jeſus Chriſt, as if he had done it: He accuſes him of Inſolence in ſeveral places of his Works, for pretending to be juſtified by his Works. *De Trinit. lib. 9. Can. 19. in Matth. & Lib. de Patris & Filii unitate.*

19. He overturns the common Notion of the Church of *Rome*, which is, that when Jeſus Chriſt entred in to his Diſciples, the Doors being ſhut, he had not loſt the Solidity of his Body, and conſequently that there was a Penetration of Dimenſions: St. *Hilary* rejects this Notion as abſurd, accounting this Penetration of Dimenſions impoſſible, *lib. 3. de. Trinit.*

20. He aſſerts that the Euchariſt is celebrated in breaking of Bread, and that the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt did drink of the Fruit of the Vine at the Lord's Supper, and mentions not ſo much as one Word of Tranſubſtantiation, in a place where he particularly explains the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, *Can. 30. in Matth.* To ſpeak the Truth, how could he have any other Thoughts, who maintains that Jeſus Chriſt is no longer on the Earth, in reſpect of his Body, becauſe it is impoſſible for a Body to be in more places than one? *Adeſt enim & cum fideliter invocatur per naturam ſuam præſens eſt; ſpiritus enim eſt omnia penetrans & continens; non enim ſecundum nos corporalis eſt, ut cum alicubi adſit, abſit aliunde, ſed virtute præſenti, & ſe quàcunque eſt, porrigenti, cum replente omnia ejus ſpiritu in omnibus ſit, tamen ei, qui in eum credat adſiſtit.* " For he is preſent by his Nature, " when he is call'd upon with Faith, he being a Spirit pene- " trating and containing all things: for he is not like us corpo- " real, ſo as that when he is in one place, he ſhould be abſent " from another, but he is in all places by the Preſence of his " Power which extendeth it ſelf where-ever he is, and his Spi- " rit that filleth all things; yet he is in a more peculiar manner " with him that believes in him.

21. He was ſo far from approving the Romiſh Inquiſition, that he calls the Emperor *Conſtantius* Antichriſt, for perſecuting thoſe that were not of his Opinion, *lib. in Conſtant. Auguſt.* Yea he judg'd all Force to be ſo contrary to the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion, that he maintains that there can be no Religion where Force is made uſe of. *Laſtly;*

Laſtly; He was ſo far from believing that the Antichriſt, whereof St. *John* ſpeaks, was already come; that he maintains that he would be revealed in the Churches that were then poſſeſſed by the Arians, and that the Faith being thus attack'd, the true Believers would be forced to look out for Shelter amongſt the Mountains in Woods and Caves, leaving the Antichriſt Maſter of the publick Places conſecrated to the Worſhip of God.

This is the Sum of what may be gathered from the Writings of St. *Hilary*. I make no mention of ſome Errors of this great Man, becauſe *Claudianus Mamertus* having confuted them about the end of the fifth Century, has made it appear that they were only ſome particular Opinions of this great Confeſſor, and that we cannot look upon them as the common Faith of the Dioceſs where he was ſetled. But the ſame cannot be ſaid of the Articles I have noted; *Claudianus* is ſo far from blaming them, that he approves them by his Silence, and ſhews that his Doctrine in this Reſpect, was the Doctrine of the Church of *Gaul*.

We have nothing left us of the Works of *Rhodanius* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, who was contemporary with St. *Hilary*: But it appears clear to us, that this Holy Confeſſor having been ſent into Baniſhment with St. *Hilary*, after the Council of *Beziers*, by the Cabal of *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, Favourer of the *Arians*; we are to conſider *Rhodanius* as a Defender of the ſame Faith, and an illuſtrious Witneſs of the Belief of his Dioceſs: And we ought to make the ſame Judgment of *Phœbadius* Biſhop of *Agen*, who was ſo much engaged in the ſame Quarrel, and who acquired ſo great a Name by the vigorous Oppoſition he made againſt the Errors of *Arius*: But Providence has preſerved us none of his Works.

In effect, this great Man, who wrote in the Year 357. as appears by his Book againſt the Arians, gives us ſufficiently to underſtand what his Faith was in divers Articles, and what was the Doctrine of the Dioceſs.

1. He maintains that the Catholick Faith is found with thoſe who ſpeak according to the Holy Scripture, and not amongſt thoſe who only make uſe of Prejudices. After having quoted

ſeveral places of Scripture, to prove againſt the *Arians* the Eternity of the Son, he concludes in this manner, *B. Patr. T.* 4. *p.* 174. *Volentes igitur à Patre Filium ſcindere, & infra Deum ponere, de Evangelio præſcribunt:* " Thoſe therefore who would " rend the Father from the Son, and place him below God, " give Law to the Goſpel. He expreſſeth himſelf yet more ſtrongly to this purpoſe, towards the end of his Book, *ib. p.* 180. *Hoc credimus, hoc tenemus, quia hoc accepimus à Prophetis; hoc nobis Evangelia locuta ſunt, hoc Apoſtoli tradiderunt, hoc Martyres in paſſione confeſſi ſunt; in hoc mentibus fidei etiam hæremus, contra quod ſi Angelus de Cœlo annuntiaverit, Anathema ſit.* —*Ergo ut ſupra diximus, præjudicatæ opinionis authoritas nihil valebit, quia contra ſemetipſam, ipſa conſiſtit.* " This we believe, this we " hold faſt, becauſe 'tis this we have received from the Pro- " phets, this the Goſpels have declared to us, this the Apo- " ſtles have left us, this the Martyrs in their Sufferings have " confeſſed, and to this we adhere with our Minds by Faith, " ſo that if an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach contrary to " this, let him be accurſed. —Wherefore, as was ſaid before, " the Authority of a prejudicate Opinion can be of no force, " becauſe it ſtands againſt it ſelf.

2. He makes it appear that the Name of Catholick was not ſufficient to be a true Chriſtian, when he repreſents that *Arianiſm* had ſo far ſeized the Minds of all the World, that it was neceſſary to eſpouſe the *Arian* Hereſy, to procure the Name of being Catholicks, *ib. p.* 169. *Sed quia aut Hæreſis ſuſcipienda eſt ut Catholici dicamur, aut verè Catholici non futuri; ſi Hæreſin non repudiamus, ad hanc tractatûs conditionem, neceſſitate deſcendimus.* " But becauſe we are either to become Here- " ticks, that we may be called Catholicks, or ceaſe to be Ca- " tholicks indeed; by becoming Hereticks we are neceſſitated " to write this Treatiſe.

3. He aſſerts that the Revelation of Holy Scripture is ſo perfect, with reſpect to the Divinity of our Saviour, that Anathemas are to be pronounced againſt all thoſe that advance any other Doctrine. This appears from the great number of Paſſages which he quotes from thence, *p.* 173, & 178. to which he joins the Anathema, whereof I have already ſpoke before.

4. He

4. He obſerves expreſly that the ſame Honours rendred to Jeſus Chriſt in the Liturgy, as to God, do demonſtrate his Equality with God, *p.* 174. *Quod ſi ita eſt*, ſaith he, *quotidie blaſphemamus in gratiarum actionibus & oblationibus ſacrificiorum, communia hæc Patri & filio confitentes, &c.* " If it be ſo, we " blaſpheme daily in our Thankſgivings and Offerings of Sacri- " fice, in confeſſing theſe things common to Father and Son.

Thus doth he implicitly overthrow the firſt Principles of the Church of *Rome*, *viz.* the Imperfection of the Holy Scripture in Matters of Faith, the Authority aud Neceſſity of Traditions, which are the compleating of it, and other ſuch like Doctrines. We ſhould now proceed to examine what the State of theſe Dioceſſes was in the following Century, but that the Biſhop of *Meaux* ſtops us, to reflect upon the Hiſtory and Doctrine of *Vigilantius*, whoſe Name is too famous, and his Memory too unworthily torn by that Biſhop, not to afford him that Defence which his Zeal againſt Superſtition doth juſtly deſerve.

CHAP. IV.

An Examination of the Opinions of Vigilantius.

Vigilantius was born in *Aquitain*, as is proved by *de Marca*, in a Diſſertation of his which is not yet publiſhed, and Prieſt in the Dioceſs of *Barcelona*; he had contracted a particular Friendſhip with St. *Paulinus*, who was ordained Prieſt at *Barcelona*; St. *Paulinus* recommended him in particular to St. *Jerome*, as he paſſed through *Campania*, where St. *Paulinus* was Biſhop, in his way to *Jeruſalem*; St. *Jerome* received him with all the Affection poſſible, in the Year 394. and calls him the Holy Prieſt *Vigilantius*, in his 13*th* Epiſtle to St. *Paulinus*. He made no long ſtay in the *Holy Land*; it is probable that the Diſputes about *origeniſm*, which troubled that Province, obliged him

him to return the ſooner. St. *Jerom* ſeems to inſinuate that *Vigilantius* had been gained by *Ruſinus*, Enemy to St. *Jerom*, and that after *Vigilantius* was come into *Egypt*, and in ſome other Provinces, he accuſed St. *Jerom* for having too great a Liking for the Writings of *Origen*, *&c.* decrying him every-where as an *Origeniſt*. This was the true Cauſe of the Hate and Rage of St. *Jerom* againſt *Vigilantius*, whereof we have a very ſenſible Inſtance in his 75*th* Epiſtle, which he wrote againſt *Vigilantius* about the Year 397. where he treats him with the greateſt Indignity. *Vigilantius* being returned into *Gaul*, ſeems to have made his abode there, and to have publiſhed a certain Treatiſe, about the Year 406. againſt the worſhipping of Relicks, which about 60 Years before, was introduced into the Church. St. *Jerom* being informed hereof, had an Occaſion offered him of defending the Superſtition of the common People againſt the Cenſures of *Vigilantius*, and of unloading againſt him the moſt injurious Language that Hatred could inſpire.

The Writers of the Church of *Rome* have not been wanting long ſince, to draw their Advantage from theſe Invectives of St. *Jerom* againſt the Proteſtants, and never ſpeak of *Vigilantius* but as a Heretick. The Biſhop of *Meaux* hath carefully traced their Steps: he tells us therefore after his manner very confidently, that even in the fourth Century, the moſt clear-ſighted of all the reſt, there was found but one only, *Vigilantius*, who oppoſed himſelf againſt the Honours given to the Saints, and the worſhipping of their Relicks, yet he is look'd upon by the Proteſtants, as the Perſon who has preſerved the *Depoſitum*, that is to ſay, the Succeſſion of the Apoſtolical Doctrine, and is preferred by them to St. *Jerom*, who hath the whole Church for him.

This of Neceſſity obligeth us to take a particular view of the Opinions of *Vigilantius*. I ſhall not make a ſtop to invalidate what the Biſhop ſaith that *Vigilantius* wrote in the fourth Century, nor at his endeavouring to cloak the Notion of his Church concerning the religious Worſhip they give to Saints and to Relicks, under the indeterminate Expreſſion of the Honours of Saints, and the Worſhip of Relicks: But to come to the thing it ſelf, I maintain, that if *Vigilantius* had the Misfortune of

of falling under the Diſpleaſure of St. *Jerom*, by the Cenſure he pronounced againſt the popular Superſtition of rendring various Honours to the Relicks of Saints, yet was he never condemned by the Church that then was, nor treated as an Heretick. *Gennadius* owns that *Vigilantius* had an elegant Stile, and that his Zeal for Religion had engaged him to write. I own that he charges him with a Miſtake in his Explication of the ſecond Viſion of *Daniel*, and in ſome other Articles for which he reckoneth him amongſt Hereticks. But we are to take notice, 1*ſt*, that *Gennadius* wrote an hundred Years after *Vigilantius*, and ſo follows the Judgment St. *Jerom* had given before of him. 2*dly*, That he calls theſe Articles Heretical, after the manner of ancient Authors, who very frankly beſtowed the Name of Hereſy on every thing that diſpleaſed them, though it had never been condemned by the Scripture, nor rejected by the Body of the Church. 3*dly*, That he look'd upon theſe pretended Hereſies as of very ſmall Importance, becauſe he ſpeaks of an abſurd Explication of the ſecond Viſion of *Daniel*, which St. *Jerom* had revived, as of an Error more conſiderable than thoſe of *Vigilantius*, which he does not expreſs, and mentions them as Trifles. However be it as it will if the Biſhop of *Meaux* maintains theſe two things; 1*ſt*. That *Vigilantius* was the only Man that oppoſed the Honours of the Saints, and the Worſhip of Relicks; and 2*dly*. That St. *Jerom* had the whole Church on his ſide in his Anſwer; I maintain againſt the Biſhop, that either he is deceived himſelf, or was willing to deceive his Reader, in both theſe things.

The Falſity of the firſt will appear to every one that can read St. *Jerom*'s Book againſt *Vigilantius*; St. *Jerom* himſelf witneſſeth, that the holy Biſhop, in whoſe Dioceſs *Vigilantius* was a Prieſt, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Barcelona*, was of *Vigilantius*'s Opinion: ſo that we have already diſcovered one Biſhop, whom St. *Jerom* endeavoured to conceal from us; but we ſhall find a greater number whom St. *Jerom* himſelf owns to have approved *Vigilantius*'s Opinion, leſt we ſhould imagine that *Vigilantius* and his Biſhop were Schiſmaticks: " O horrible! ſaith " St. *Jerom*, ſome Biſhops alſo are ſaid to be Partakers of his " Crimes: And we may judg of St. *Jerom*'s Moderation by that which

which follows ; *Si tamen Epiſcopi nominandi ſunt, qui non ordinant Diaconos niſi primo uxores duxerint, nulli cælibi credentes pudicitiam :* " If we may call them Biſhops, who ordain none to be " Deacons except they be married, not truſting the Chaſtity " of any unmarried Perſon. What then ſhall we conclude that ſo many Churches whoſe Biſhops and Prieſts were all married, had no lawful Biſhops or Prieſts ? Can any thing be conceived more extravagant than this ? To this Acknowledgment of St. *Jerom* we may add what he ſaith himſelf on the *65th* Chapter of *Iſaiah* ; for he owns that *Vigilantius*'s blaming of that popular Superſtition, had induced divers Perſons in *Gaul*, to abſtain from frequenting the Churches of the Martyrs, and to withdraw themſelves from the Prayers that were made there. The Falſity of the ſecond Article will be no leſs evident, if we examine the manner of St. *Jerom*'s defending himſelf againſt *Vigilantius* ; for though he had undertaken to run down *Vigilantius*, yet after all he agrees with him in the main.

St. *Jerom* owns in his *53d.* Epiſtle, which he writes to *Riparius*, that *Vigilantius* had writ twice againſt the Worſhip of Relicks, and that he called thoſe that adored them, *Cinerarii* and Idolaters, *qui mortuorum hominum oſſa venerarentur*, who did honour the Bones of dead Men ; for which St. *Jerom* calls him a Samaritan and a Jew, becauſe he counted dead Bodies to be unclean, as if Chriſtians ſtill lived under the Law.

Whereas *Vigilantius* blamed the Cuſtom of honouring them in the Churches, becauſe it was a piece of Superſtition in a Place dedicated to religious Worſhip, to beſtow any Veneration upon Creatures, though the moſt holy and moſt excellent that might be. St. *Jerom* is forced to prevaricate upon this Charge ; his way of defending this matter is ſuch as would never pleaſe the Palat of the Church of *Rome*. *Nos autem non dico Martyrum reliquias, ſed ne Solem quidem & Lunam, non Angelos, non Archangelos, non Cherubin, non Seraphim, & omne nomen quod nominatur, & in præſenti ſæculo & in futuro, colimus & adoramus, ne ſerviamus Creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui eſt Benedictus in ſæcula. Honoramus autem reliquias Martyrum, ut eum, cujus ſunt Martyres adoremus, honoramus ſervos, ut honor ſervorum redundet ad Dominum, qui ait, qui vos ſuſcipit, me ſuſcipit.*

pit. Ergo Petri & Pauli immundæ ſunt Reliquiæ, ergo Moyſi corpuſculum immundum erit, quod juxta Hebraicam veritatem, ab ipſo ſepultum eſt Domino; & quotieſcunque Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum & omnium Martyrum Baſilicas ingredimur, toties Idolorum templa veneramur, accenſique ante tumulos eorum cerei Idololatriæ inſignia ſunt.
" But we neither worſhip nor adore, I do not ſay the Relicks
" of Martyrs, but not ſo much as the Sun and Moon, *&c.*
" nor any Name that is named in this World, or in that which
" is to come, leſt we ſhould ſerve the Creature rather than
" God, who is bleſſed for ever: But we honour the Relicks
" of the Martyrs, in worſhipping him whoſe they are; we
" honour the Servants, that their Honour may redound to the
" Lord, who ſaith, He that receives you, receives me: What
" are the Relicks then of *Peter* and *Paul*, unclean? Is the Body
" of *Moſes* unclean? which according to the Hebrew Truth
" was buried by the Lord himſelf; and as often as we enter
" the Churches of the Apoſtles, Prophets, and Martyrs, do
" we worſhip the Temples of Idols? and ſhall we ſay that the
" Tapers which burn before their Monuments are the Marks
" of Idolatry?

What a fine Application doth St. *Jerom* make here of that Paſſage? *He that receives you, receives me*; and how ſolid an Anſwer doth he return to a ſolid Objection, when he tells us, *We honour the Servants in worſhipping him whoſe they are?* What a Conſequence is this? Is there any other Honour due to Relicks, beſides that of being interred? Was not this the Cuſtom uſed to the Chriſtians of old, before the time of *Conſtantius?* It is well enough ſeen, that the good Father skips over the Difficulty, and under a general Proteſtation of worſhipping nothing but God, he endeavours to ſhelter a Cuſtom which had been introduced after the Emperor *Conſtantius*'s time, that is to ſay, about 60 Years before. *Vigilantius* blamed the Cuſtom which but a little before had been introduced of lighting Tapers before the Tombs of Martyrs, and paſſing the Night by them in Prayer, wherein he followed the Maxims of the Council of *Elvira*, held under the Empire of *Conſtantine*, about 90 Years before. After what manner doth St. *Jerom* refute theſe Complaints of *Vigilantius?* he tells us of the Preſence of the

Angels at the Grave of Jesus Christ; he relies upon the Example of the Apostles, who buried the Body of St. *Stephen*: He produceth the Custom of *Daniel* and the Apostles, who spent the Night in Prayer; and all this without doubt extreamly to the purpose, and the Protestants are much in the wrong, to prefer the Opinions of *Vigilantius* to such solid Reasonings as these.

But it may be replied, That St. *Jerom* disputed only slightly, and for Argument's sake, in his Epistle to *Riparius*, not having then seen the Writing of *Vigilantius*, and therefore handled the matter only as a Declaimer.

This indeed is the best Excuse that can be alledged to make the Reader digest the furious Transports and Invectives of this famous Monk, who treats *Vigilantius* no otherwise than as another *Julian the Apostate*, and seems very willing to have had him destroyed by the Law mentioned in the 13*th* of *Deuteronomy*. And after all this, St. *Jerom* is the same in his Book against *Vigilantius*, which follows this Epistle.

After a Preface which out-does all the Monsters that either the Scripture or Fables speak of, he begins thus; *Exortus est subito Vigilantius, seu verius Dormitantius, qui immundo spiritu pugnet contra Christi spiritum, & Martyrum neget sepulcra veneranda, damnandas dicat esse Vigilias, nunquam nisi in Pascha Alleluja cantandum, continentiam Hæresin, Pudicitiam Libidinis seminarium; & quomodo Euphorbus in Pythagora renatus esse perhibetur; sic in isto Joviniani mens prava surrexit, ut in illo, & in hoc Diaboli respondere cogamur insidiis.* "Here is suddenly started up one *Vigilan-*
" *tius*, or rather *Dormitantius*, who with an unclean Spirit fights
" against the Spirit of Christ, and denies that any Veneration
" ought to be given to the Sepulchres of Martyrs, condemns
" the Watchings at them, affirms that Alleluja's ought to be
" sung at no time except Easter, calls Continence Heresy, and
" Chastity the Nursery of Lust; so that as *Euphorbus* was said
" to be born again in *Pythagoras*, in like manner in him seems to
" be revived *Jovinianus*'s Wickedness, in whom as we were
" forced to oppose our selves against the Wiles of the Devil,
" so likewise are we now equally obliged to oppose this Man's
" Errors. What *Ciceronian* Eloquence is this? What a strange Account of things is here? But

But there is ſomething worſe behind, ſee what Stories he tells of *Jovinian: Eccleſiæ Authoritate damnatus inter Phaſides aves & carnes ſuillas, non tam emiſit ſpiritum, quam eructavit, iſte Caupo Callaguritanus*, & in perverſum propter nomen viculi, mutus Quintilianus: *Miſcet aquam vino, & de priſtino artificio, ſuæ venena perfidiæ Catholicæ fidei ſociare conatur, impugnare virginitatem, odiſſe pudicitiam, in convivio ſæcularium contra ſanctorum Azemia proclamare, dum inter phialas philoſophatur, & ad placentas liguriens, Pſalmorum modulatione mulcetur, ut tantum inter Epulas David & Idithum & Aſaph & filiorum Core cantica audire dignetur.* Surely the good St. *Jerom* did not think of what he ſaid, ſo extreamly was he tranſported with an inconſiderate Zeal for Celibacy; but however, this Zeal of his had a reaſonable Motive: *Proh nefas!* ſaid he. This is the firſt Hereſy of *Vigilantius*; he would have it allowed to Miniſters to marry, whereas in the ten Provinces ſubject to the Pope, in the ſeventeen Provinces of the Juriſdiction of *Epheſus*, and in the five Provinces of *Egypt* they followed a contrary Cuſtom.

This without doubt was a crying Hereſy, and yet it appears from the Decretal of Pope —— to *Hymerius* Biſhop of *Tarracona*, that it had made ſo little Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, that *Innocent* I. was fain to write A. D. 405. to *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, upon the ſame Subject of the Celibacy of the Clergy, ſo much oppoſition did that Buſineſs every where meet with at that time. We muſt conſider further the manner how St. *Jerom* applies the Paſſage, which only regards Adultery, to the Celibacy of the Clergy: But this is only by way of Preface.

St. *Jerom* tells us at firſt, that he had received *Vigilantius*'s Book, by the Care of *Riparius* and *Deſiderius*, who lived near the Countries that *Vigilantius* had infected with his Opinions, and that he had been informed by them, that there were ſome there who favoured his Vices, and were pleaſed with his Blaſphemies: After having branded his Book for a ſtupid piece of Ignorance, and which did not deſerve to be diſcuſs'd, were it not for the ſake of ſome *ſilly Women, laden with Sins*, of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks, 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. he aſſaults *Vigilantius* upon the account of the place of his Birth; he was born at *Calaguri*,

whereupon St. *Jerom* makes a learned Diſquiſition into the Original of that People, from *Pompey*'s time: *Nimirum*, ſaith he, *reſpondet generi ſuo, ut qui de Latronum & Convenarum natus eſt ſemine, quos Cn. Pompeius, edomitâ Hiſpaniâ, & ad Triumphum redire feſtinans, de Pyrenæi jugis depoſuit, & in unum oppidum congregavit, unde & Convenarum urbs nomen accepit, hucuſque latrocinetur contra Eccleſiam, & de Vectonibus, Arrebacis, Celtiberiſque deſcendens, incurſet Galliarum Eccleſias, portetque nequaquam vexillum Chriſti, ſed inſigne Diaboli. Fecit hoc idem Pompeius etiam in Orientis partibus, ut Cilicibus & Iſauris Piratis, Latronibuſque ſuperatis, ſui nominis inter Ciliciam & Iſauriam conderet civitatem. Sed hæc urbs hodie ſervat ſcita Majorum, & nullus in ea ortus eſt Dormitantius: Galliæ vernaculum hoſtem ſuſtinent, & hominem moti capitis, atque Hippocraticis vinculis alligandum, ſedentem finunt in Eccleſia & inter cætera verba Blaſphemiæ, &c.* " He indeed (ſaith he) every " way anſwers his Extraction; for being deſcended from Rob- " bers, and a mix'd Rabble drawn together from ſeveral parts, " whom *Pompey* after he had conquered *Spain*, and haſting to " his Triumph, removed from the tops of the *Pyrenean* Hills, " and gathered them into one City, which therefore was called " the City of Strangers; what wonder is it then, if being ſuch " a one, he ravage and ſpoil the Church, and if deriving his " Pedigree from the *Vectones*, *Arrebaci* and *Celtiberi*, he make " Incurſions upon the *Gallick* Churches, fighting not under " Chriſt's but the Devil's Banner? *Pompey* alſo did the ſame in " the Eaſt, where after he had overcome the Pirates and Rob- " bers of *Cilicia* and *Iſauria*, he built a City bearing his own " Name, between *Cilicia* and *Iſauria*: but to this day that Ci- " ty obſerves their Fore-fathers Cuſtoms, and never produced " any *Dormitantius*; whereas *Gaul* maintains an home-bred " Enemy, and ſuffers a Man that is half mad, one fit to be " bound in *Hippocrates*'s Bands, to ſit in the Church, *&c.* Here is a violent Tranſport of Rage: What horrid thing then is it that this Robber hath attempted? Why he ſaid; *Quid neceſſe eſt te tanto honore, non ſolum honorare, ſed etiam adorare illud neſcio quid, quod in modico vaſculo transferendo colis? Et rurſum in eodem libro: Quid pulverem linteamine circumdatum adorando oſcularis? Et in conſequentibus, prope ritum Gentilium videmus ſub prætextu Religionis,*

Religionis, introductum in Eccleſias; Sole adhuc fulgente, moles cereorum accendi, & ubicunque pulviſculum neſcio quod, in modico vaſculo, pretioſo linteamine circundatum oſculantes adorare. Magnum honorem præbent hujuſmodi homines beatiſſimis Martyribus, quos putant de viliſſimis cereolis illuſtrandos, quos Agnus qui eſt in medio Throni, cum omni fulgore Majeſtatis ſuæ illuſtrat. " What need is there " for thee, not only to venerate, but alſo adore ſomething " I know not what which thou worſhippeſt, carrying it about " in a little Box. And again in the ſame Book; why doſt " thou kiſs by way of Worſhip, a little Duſt wrapt up in " Linnen? And afterwards; We have almoſt ſeen a hea- " theniſh Rite introduced into the Churches; whole heaps " of wax Tapers lighted in the Face of the Sun, and Men " every where kiſſing a little Duſt, ſhut up in a ſmall Box, " with religious Reverence; which is wrapt about with fine " Linnen. Theſe Men muſt need render a great Honour to " the moſt Bleſſed Martyrs, whom they ſuppoſe to ſtand in " need of the Illuſtration of vile Candles, whereas the Lamb " that is in the midſt of the Throne, doth illuminate them with " all the Brightneſs of his Majeſty. This is a dreadful Crime in *Vigilantius* beyond all controverſy.

Who is there, replies St. *Jerom* to this, that ever adored the Martyrs? And he proves that it may not be done by the Example of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and of St. *Peter*. The Church of *Rome*, and the Biſhop of *Meaux*, are concerned to enquire whether St. *Jerom* was very Orthodox, in denying a thing which at preſent cannot be ſo abſolutely denied, without the Imputation of Hereſy. After St. *Jerom* has ſhewn his Indignation againſt this Expreſſion, *Illud neſcio quid*, as if *Vigilantius* therein had ſpoke Blaſphemy, and derogated from the Honour due to the Martyrs, he defends his Judgment by the Examples of *Conſtantine*, that is to ſay, of *Conſtantius*, who had tranſported to *Conſtantinople* the Relicks of St. *Andrew*, St. *Luke* and *Timothy*, and of the Emperor *Arcadius*, who had caus'd the Bones of the Prophet *Samuel* to be brought out of *Judea* to *Thrace*, with the Approbation of the Biſhops and People of that time. This is a very ſolid Defence, if we may believe St. *Jerom*, for it ſeems there is no more to be ſaid, when once a Superſtition comes to be 60 years old.

That

That which displeaseth, is, that St. *Jerom* goes about to support this popular Worship, by this curious way of arguing. *Mortuum suspicaris, & idcirco blasphemas; lege Evangelium, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob; non est Deus mortuorum, sed vivorum. Si ergo vivunt, honesto juxta te carcere non clauduntur: Ais enim vel in sinu Abraham, vel in loco refrigerii, vel subter Aram Dei, animas Apostolorum & Martyrum consedisse, nec posse suis tumulis & ubi voluerint adesse præsentes; senatoriæ videlicet dignitatis sunt, ut non inter Homicidas teterrimo carcere sed in liberâ honestâque custodiâ in Fortunatarum Insulis & in Campis Elysiis recludantur. Tu Deo Leges ponis, tu Apostolis vincula injicis, ut usque ad Deum judicii teneantur custodiâ; nec sint cum Domino suo, de quibus scriptum est, sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo & hi qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum Diabolus & Dæmones toto vagentur orbe, & celeritate nimiâ ubique præsentes sint, Martyres post effusionem sanguinis, sui arcâ operientur inclusi, & inde exire non poterunt?*

" Thou supposest him to be dead, and therefore thou " blaspheme'st; Read the Gospel, *I am the God of* Abraham, *the* " *God of* Isaac, *and the God of* Jacob; he is not the God of the " Dead, but of the Living. But if they be alive, say you, " they ought not to be shut up in such narrow Prisons; and " you own that the Souls of the Apostles and Martyrs have " taken up their abode either in the Bosom of *Abraham*, or in " a Place of Refreshment, or under the Altar of God, and " they cannot be present at their Tombs, or where-ever they " please: for by your account, they are Persons of the first " Quality, and so ought not to be shut up amongst Murtherers " in a filthy Dungeon, but to enjoy a free and honourable " Custody in the fortunate Islands, and the Elysian Fields. " Thus you limit and set Laws to God, and bind the Apo- " stles in Chains, and keep them in custody till the Day of " Judgment; so that they cannot be with their Lord, of whom " it is written, that they follow the Lamb whithersoever he " goes. Now seeing the Lamb is every where, they who " are with the Lamb must be supposed to be every-where al- " so; and when the Devil and Spirits do wander throughout " the whole World, and by their over great Nimbleness, are " present

" preſent every-where, ſhall we ſay that the Martyrs after " the ſhedding of their Blood, are ſhut up in their Coffins " without being able to ſtir from thence?

Theſe fine Reaſonings of St. *Jerom* againſt *Vigilantius* have two Characters. The 1*ſt*, is, that they are contrary to the Sentiments of moſt of the Antients; The 2*d*, is, that they have been deſpiſed by St. *Auſtin:* And in fine, have diſpleaſed all the Schoolmen; ſo that it is not worth while to contradict them. St. *Jerom* handles the reſt of his Matter much at the ſame rate. *Dicis in libello tuo, quod dum vivimus, mutui pro nobis orare poſſumus poſtquam autem mortui fuerimus, nullius ſit pro Deo exaudienda oratio: præſertim cum Martyres ultionem ſui obſecrantes impetrare non quiverint.* " You ſay in your Book, That whilſt " we are alive we may mutually pray for one another, but " that after we are once dead, no Man's Prayer can be " heard for another; and the rather, becauſe even the Martyrs themſelves begging of God that he would avenge their " Blood, have not been able to obtain their requeſt.

What is it St. *Jerom* anſwers to this? he ſaith, That if the Saints, when alive, procured Favours for others, they may obtain them much rather now when they are with *Chriſt*, ſeeing they are not dead, but aſleep, as the Scripture tells us.

As to the wax Tapers, the uſe of which is blamed by *Vigilantius*, St. *Jerom* tells us ſomething that will not over-well agree with the Church of *Rome*. *Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, ſicut fruſtra calumniaris, ſed ut noctis tenebras hoc ſolatio temperemus, & vigilemus ad Lumen, ne tecum dormiamus in tenebris. Quod ſi aliqui propter imperitiam & ſimplicitatem ſæcularium hominum, vel certè religioſarum feminarum, de quibus vere poſſumus dicere confiteor Zelum Dei habent, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, hoc pro honore Martyrum faciunt, quid inde perdis? Cauſabantur quondam & Apoſtoli, quod periret unguentum, ſed Domini voce correpti ſunt, neque enim Chriſtus indigebat unguento, nec Martyres Lumine Cereorum, & tamen illa Mulier in honore Chriſti hoc fecit, devotioque mentis ejus recipitur: & quicunque accendunt cereos, ſecundum fidem ſuam habent mercedem, dicente Apoſtolo, Unuſquiſque ſuo ſenſu abundet.* " Neither do we light wax Tapers at " Noon-day, as you cauſleſly complain, but only to allay the " Dark-

" Darkneſs of the Night with the help of Candles, and to be
" kept waking by the Light of them, leſt being in Dark-
" neſs we ſhould fall aſleep as well as you : But, and if ſome
" out of Ignorance and Simplicity amongſt the Lay-men or de-
" vout Women, of whom we may truly ſay, that they have
" a Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledg, ſhould do
" this in honour to the Martyrs, what is the loſs or hurt of all
" this ? So the Apoſtles alſo murmur'd of old, that the Wo-
" man made waſte of her Ointment ; but were reproved by
" our Lord himſelf ; neither did the Lord want the Oint-
" ment any more than the Martyrs ſtand in need of Wax
" Tapers ; and yet becauſe the Woman did it in honour to
" Chriſt, her Devotion is accepted of ; and ſo they who light
" wax Tapers, receive a reward according to their Faith ; for
" the Apoſtle tells us, *Let every one abound in his own Senſe.*

One cannot avoid taking notice how St. *Jerom* abuſeth this Paſſage of St. *Paul*, and the Pretence he gives for adjudging Rewards, to all ſorts of Superſtition ; however we muſt acknowledg that in this Article St. *Jerom* hath many more Approvers than *Vigilantius*.

Vigilantius call'd them Idolaters, who by lighting Wax Tapers by Day-light, did imitate the Cuſtoms of the Heathens. How does St. *Jerom* anſwer him. Firſt, He tells him, that what was done of this kind to Idols, was deteſtable, but that the ſame thing when done out of reſpect to the Martyrs, is very commendable. 2*ly*, That the Eaſtern Churches lighted Candles at the reading of the Goſpel, though there be no Relicks of the Martyrs. 3*ly*, That Jeſus Chriſt aſſigns to the wiſe Virgins Lamps lighted. 4*ly*, He oppoſeth to *Vigilantius* the Example of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who celebrated the Maſs upon the Tombs of the Apoſtles, as upon an Altar. I fear I ſhould tire the Patience of my Reader, ſhould I go about to examine this Piece of St. *Jerom*'s throughout. this Specimen may ſuffice to judg of the whole Work.

I ſhall therefore only reduce to ſome few Articles, what I have further to add, in order to the full clearing of this Queſtion.

1. I

1. I affirm, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* had no reaſon to ſay that *Vigilantius* oppoſed himſelf againſt the Honours done to Saints. St. *Jerom* does not accuſe him of it in any part of his Works, he only blames him becauſe he was not for giving them ſo great Honour as other Men did. *Quid neceſſe eſt tanto honore, non tantum honorare, ſed etiam adorare illud neſcio quid?* "What neceſſity is there not only to honour, but even to adore "and worſhip I know not what, with ſo very great Honour?

2. 'Tis for the Biſhop of *Meaux* to tell us, whether he believes with St. *Jerom*, that *Vigilantius* was an Heretick for denying that the Souls of Saints are preſent at their Graves; and whether St. *Jerom* doth ſolidly prove, that we ought to believe them to be every-where, where Jeſus Chriſt is; becauſe it is ſaid in the Revelations, that *the Virgins follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goes.*

3. The truth is, *Vigilantius* ſtretch'd the Point too far, in maintaining, that after we are dead, the Prayer of any one for another cannot be heard. Probably alſo he might be too rigid, in refuſing to enter into the Churches of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, to ſignify his Averſion to the Superſtition which then began to be introduc'd, as St. *Auſtin* complains, *De moribus Eccleſ.* — *cap.* 34.

1. But it is falſe, that becauſe *Vigilantius* found fault with the Adoration of Relicks; therefore St. *Jerom* maintain'd the ſame to be lawful: he was ſo far from that, that he upbraids *Vigilantius* with calumniating the Church by this his Accuſation. *Quis, O inſanum caput! aliquando Martyres adoravit? Quis hominem putavit Deum?* "Who ever, O fooliſh Man, adored "the Martyrs? Who ever took a Man to be God? It is evident that St. *Jerom* takes Adoration to be an Act due to God alone, and which he does not divide in two ſorts, as the Church of *Rome* does at this day, which indeed makes three different ſorts of it.

2. It is falſe, that St. *Jerom* maintains that the Church prayed to Saints, whereof *Vigilantius* accuſeth thoſe againſt whom he had writ. He agrees with *Vigilantius*, that the Saints ought not

to be prayed to even as Friends to Christ, and Intercessors with God; *Ne ut Amici quidem Dei & comprecatores ad Deum.* Is it not manifest that the Bishop of *Meaux* abuses the World, when he quotes St. *Jerom* in favour of the Church of *Rome*, which prays to Saints on both these accounts, which are so expressly rejected by St. *Jerom*; and when he upbraids the Protestants for following of *Vigilantius* in an Article which St. *Jerom* owns as well as he, and the whole Church at that time? But to speak the truth, The whole of *Vigilantius* his Crime, consists: 1*st*, In that he was willing to bring the Discipline of the Council of *Elvira* in force again, which was assembled at the beginning of the 4*th* Century; the Constitutions whereof were undervalued towards the end of the same Age, after the Christian Religion began to bear down all its Opposers, under the Reign of *Constantine* and his Children. 2*ly*, Because he attributes to the Church some Customs, which were not all of them authorized, though they were already generally received and maintained by the Ignorant and Superstitious sort of People. 3*ly*, Because he opposed some Customs as general, which were capable of being explained in a tolerable Sense. But indeed at the bottom, St. *Jerom* and *Vigilantius* were very well agreed upon the Point we condemn in the Church of *Rome*; neither do we find that the Church, to which *Vigilantius* did belong, did ever except against him. Thus it is evident, that the Protestants may look upon *Vigilantius* as a zealous Defender of the Christian Purity, and one of those who oppos'd themselves against Superstition in its first rise.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Churches of Aquitain *and* Narbon *in the Fifth Century.*

THis Age furniſheth us with ſeveral conſiderable Witneſſes. St. *Jerom*, whom the Biſhop of *Meaux* has endeavour'd to repreſent as our Antagoniſt, is the firſt of them. He ſaith, ſpeaking of *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, that this holy Biſhop carried the Euchariſt in a Wicker-Basket, a way by no means agreeable to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, where it is accompanied with quite different Ceremonies. 1*ſt*, Becauſe it is made the Object of Adoration, and that in the very Streets. 2*ly*, Becauſe People dare not touch the leaſt Crumb of it, as being perſuaded that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt which is in the Hoſt, multiplies according to the number of the Crumbs, into which the Hoſt may be broken. 3*ly*, Becauſe by this means it might come to be trod under foot or loſt, upon which a thouſand Inconveniencies muſt follow. Præfat. in *Zechariam.*

It is worth obſerving here concerning this Cuſtom of carrying the Euchariſt about, which was in uſe in the 2*d* Century, as appears from the Writings of *Juſtin Martyr*; that it differ'd very much from what we find in the Romiſh Church, ſince the 12*th* Century. For indeed ſince that time, *Rome* has taken great care to obtain Laws whereby all that walk in the Streets, whether Jews, Heathens or Chriſtians, might be compelled to adore, what ſhe looks upon as her God. But we find nothing like this in any Law of the Emperors or Chriſtian Princes in favour of the Adoration of the Euchariſt.

The 2*d* Witneſs whom we may conſult about the State of theſe Dioceſſes, is *Sulpitius Severus*, Monk of *Primuliacum* in *Guienne*. And ſince he wrote at a time, when the Zeal for that kind of Life did tranſport the beſt Men, we need not wonder that he hath inſerted ſo many Fables in the Books

we have of his, though ſetting thoſe aſide, nothing was finer in that Age than his Writings.

But after all, it is certain, that notwithſtanding all this leaven of a Monaſtick Spirit, we find many Characters of a very pure Divinity in his Books; this will appear from the following Obſervations: whence it is obvious to conclude, that he was not engaged in Popiſh Maxims.

1. He maintains, That it was Jeſus Chriſt that wreſtled with *Jacob*; which Paſſage the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* corrupt, to have an occaſion thence to conclude that a meer Angel had bleſſed *Jacob*; *Pridie*, ſaith he, *quam inter ſe fratres convenirent, Dominus, humanâ ſpecie aſſumptâ, colluctatus cum Jacob refertur. Et cum adverſus Dominum prævaluiſſet, tamen non eſſe mortalem non ignoravit; benedici ſibi ab eo flagitabat.* "The day before the Brothers met, the Lord is ſaid to have "wreſtled with *Jacob* in a humane Form; and though he pre- "vailed againſt the Lord, yet he knew him not to be mortal, "and deſired to be bleſſed by him.

T. 7. *B. P.* pag. 170.

2. He owns the ſecond Commandment, and diſtinguiſheth it from the firſt. *Non erunt tibi Dii alieni præter me. Non facies tibi Idolum.* "Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me. Thou "ſhalt not make to thy ſelf a Graven Image. Neither doth he ſplit the laſt Command into two, as the Church of *Rome* does at preſent: for he concludes the Decalogue in this Manner, *Non falſum teſtimonium dices adverſus Proximum tuum. Non concupiſces quidquam Proximi tui?* "Thou ſhalt not bear falſe "witneſs againſt thy Neighbour. Thou ſhalt not covet any "any thing that is thy Neighbours.

Pag. 173.

3. He was ſo little perſuaded that the Name of Catholick was a ſolid Character of the true Church, that he confeſſes that *Arianiſm* had infected all the World. See how he expreſſeth himſelf, *Eoque his certaminibus proveſſum, ut iſtiuſmodi piaculis orbis terrarum implicaretur, nam Italiam, Illyricum atque Orientem Valens & Urſacius, cæterique, quorum nomina edidimus, infecerant.* "And theſe Conteſts proceeded ſo far, that the "whole World became involv'd in this Wickedneſs: for "*Valens* and *Urſacius*, with the reſt, whoſe Names we have "mentioned, had infected *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and the *Eaſt*.

4. He

4. He minded the Pope's Power of ſuppreſſing Hereſy ſo little, that he owns St. *Hilary* to have preſerved *Gaul: Illud*, ſaith he, *apud omnes conſtitit, unius Hilarii beneficio, Gallias noſtras piaculo Hæreſis liberatas:* " Thus much was known to all, that by " the ſole Endeavours of *Hilary*, our *Gaul* was delivered from " the Infection of Hereſy. Pag. 210.

5. He ſhews ſo violent an Averſion to the Spirit of Perſecution, that he very ſharply reproves *Ithacius*, for uſing the *Priſcillianiſts* hardly, who were a Branch of the *Manichees* that had ſettled themſelves in *Spain*, and for perſwading the Emperor *Gratian* to baniſh them: *Is*, ſaith he, *viz. Ithacius, vero ſine modo & ultra quam oportuit, Idacium ſocioſque ejus laceſſens, facem quandam naſcenti incendio ſubdidit, ut exaſperaverit malos potius quam compreſſerit.——Tum verò Idacius atque Ithacius acrius inſtare--- arbitrantes poſſe inter initia malum comprimi; ſed* parum ſanis conſiliis *ſæculares judices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque executionibus, Hæretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur poſt multa & fœda Idacio ſupplicante, elicitur à Gratiano tum Imperatore reſcriptum, &c.* " But he above meaſure, and beyond what ought to have been " done, provoking *Idacius* and his Fellows, help'd to blow the " Flame, and exaſperate theſe wicked Men, rather than ſuppreſs them.——Whereupon *Idacius* and *Ithacius* began to " *double their Endeavours*, ſuppoſing that the Miſchief might " be ſuppreſs'd in its beginning; but being all adviſed, they " addreſs themſelves to ſecular Judges, that by their Decrees " and Executions, the Hereticks might be baniſhed the Cities. " Thus after many and baſe Intrigues upon *Idacius*'s petitioning, an Order was drawn from *Gratian* the then Empe- " ror, *&c.* Pag. 211.

6. He draws ſuch a Parallel between St. *Ambroſe* and Pope *Damaſus*, that he attributes to them the ſupreme Authority in the Church, which doth not at all agree with the Notion of Papacy. After having ſaid that it was impoſſible for the *Priſcillianiſts* to juſtify themſelves before *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Ambroſe*, becauſe both theſe Biſhops refuſed to hear them; he proceeds thus; *Tum vertere conſilia, ut quia duobus Epiſcopis, quorum eâ tempeſtate ſumma authoritas erat, non illuſerat, &c.* " Then they began to change their Meaſures, and be- Pag. 212.

" cauſe

" cauſe they could not delude the two Biſhops, whoſe Autho-
" rity was ſupreme at that time, *&c.*

Pag. 219. cap. 8. 7. He informs us what the Tendency is of the Worſhip given to Martyrs, by the Hiſtory he gives us of an Altar, which the popular Superſtition had rendred famous, becauſe they pretended that ſome Martyrs had been buried in that place. St. *Martin* whoſe Life is deſcribed by our Author, not being able to make any certain Diſcovery of the Name of this Martyr, and the Circumſtances of his Sufferings, and being loth abſolutely to doubt of the Truth of it, thought fit himſelf to go to this famous Sepulchre, in Company of ſome of his Brethren: Being come to the place, he earneſtly begg'd of God to reveal to him the Name and Merit of the Martyr; and afterwards turning himſelf towards the left, *Vidit prope aſſiſtere umbram ſordidam trucem*; " He ſees ſtanding near him a hideous " and terrible Ghoſt: They command him to declare himſelf, the Ghoſt obeys: *Nomen edicit, de crimine confitetur, Latronem ſe fuiſſe, ob ſcelera percuſſum, vulgi errore celebratum; ſibi nihil cum Martyribus eſſe commune; cum illos gloria, ſe pœna retineret.* " Tells " his Name, confeſſeth his Crime, that he had been executed " for Robbery, that it was only the Error of the People " cauſed him to be canoniz d; that he was in nothing like the " Martyrs who were in Glory, whereas he was in Pain. The good St. *Martin* being troubled to hear this account, cauſed the Altar to be carried to another place: and ſo ſaith our Author, delivered the People from a ſuperſtitious Error.

Ibid. cap. 9. 8. He declares that the Cuſtom of carrying the Images of the Saints through the Pariſhes, was no better than a Cuſtom derived from the Heathens. The ſame Saint, ſaith he, once by Accident ſaw a Company of Heathens at a Diſtance, who accompanied the Body of an Heathen to the Grave; but finding himſelf too far off to diſcover what they were about, and perceiving the Winds to wave the Linnen wherewith the dead Body was covered, he imagined they were imployed about the prophane Ceremonies of their Sacrifices, and the reaſon he gives of it is this; *Quia eſſet hæc Gallorum Ruſticis conſuetudo, ſimulacra Dæmonum, candido tecta velamine, miſerâ per agros ſuos circumferre dementiâ.* " Becauſe it was the Cuſtom of the " Coun-

" Country People of *Gaul*, to carry madly about their Grounds " the Images of *Demons*, covered over with a white Vail.

9. He lays down a very remarkable Maxim for the *Albigenſes*: *Eccleſiam auro non ſtrui, ſed potius deſtrui*; " That Gold " was not the means of building, but rather of deſtroying the " Church; which thoſe of the Church of *Rome* could never forgive him, as appears by their Cenſures in the Margin. Pag. 234. Dial. c. 1.

10. He ſeverely blames the Conduct of thoſe who employ Violence againſt ſuch as do not acquieſce in their Deciſions. He went, ſaith he, to *Alexandria*, but would not make any ſtay in a place: *Ubi recens fraterna cladis fervebat invidia; nam etſi fortaſſe videantur parere Epiſcopis debuiſſe, non ob hanc tamen cauſam multitudinem tantam ſub Chriſti confeſſione viventem, præſertim ab Epiſcopis oportuiſſet affligi.* " Where the Reproach of " their inteſtine Slaughters was yet freſh; for though perhaps " it was their Duty to have obeyed the Biſhops, yet ſuch a " vaſt number of Perſons living in the Confeſſion of Chriſt, " ought not to have been afflicted in that manner, eſpecially " by the Biſhops. Pag. 235. Dia. c. 3. ad finem.

11. He acquaints us with the unjuſt Proceedings of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*, and the ridiculous Marks they had to diſcover them: *Maximus Imperator, alias ſatis bonus, depravatus conſiliis ſacerdotum, poſt Priſcilliani necem, Ithacium Epiſcopum Priſcilliani accuſatorem, cæteroſque illius ſocios, vi Regiâ tuebatur, ne quis ei crimini daret, operâ illius cujuſcunque modi hominem fuiſſe damnatum. Et jam pridie Imperator ex illorum ſententia decreverat, tribunos ſummâ poteſtate armatos ad Hiſpanias mittere qui Hæreticos inquirerent, deprehenſis vitam & bona adimerent: Nec dubium erat quin ſanctorum etiam maximam turbam, tempeſtas iſta depopulatura eſt, parvo diſcrimine inter hominum genera: etenim tum ſolis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius aut veſte, quam fide Hæreticus eſtimaretur.* " This great Emperor, otherwiſe a very good " Man, being ſpoiled by the Counſel of the Prieſts, after " *Priſcillian*'s Death, did by his Kingly Power defend *Ithacius* " the Biſhop, *Priſcillian*'s Accuſer, and the reſt of his Aſſociates, that no body might reflect on him, as if by his Procurement any Man had been condemned.——The Day before " the Emperor had already according to their liking, reſolved Pag. 253.

" to-

" to send Tribunes with full Power into *Spain*, to examine those " that were Hereticks, and being found such, to take away " their Lives and Estates: Neither was it to be doubted but " that this Storm would have reach'd the greatest part of Be- " lievers, because of the small Distinction made between them " and the other: for then they judged Persons only by the Eye, " esteeming them Hereticks from their pale Looks or Habit, " rather than by their Faith. He afterwards shews the Horror that Sr. *Martin* had conceived against these kind of Proceed-

Pag. 254. ings: There was nothing he was more concerned about; *Illa præcipua cura ne Tribuni cum jure gladiorum ad Hispanias mitterentur:* " Than to prevent the Tribunes being sent into *Spain*, with the " Power of the Sword. He renounced Communion with these sanguinary Bishops; but not long after, to avoid a greater Mischief, he was obliged to give up that Point, though he still refused to subscribe to the Condemnation of the *Priscillianists*; *Hu-*

Ibid. *jus dici communionem Martinus iniit, satius æstimans ad horam cedere, quam his non consulere, quorum cervicibus gladius imminebat; verum tamen summâ vi Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit.* " *Martin* communicated " with them at that time, thinking it better for a while to give " way to them, than not to provide for their Safety, who had " the Sword hanging over them: But yet though the Bishops " used their utmost Endeavours to make him ratify his commu- " nicating with them by his Subscription, they could never " bring him to it.

If we consult *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Cassian*, they will afford us much Light as to the State of these Dioceses.

Vincentius a Priest of the Monastery of *Lerins*, is one of those who can best inform us what was esteemed Orthodox in these Churches: Indeed we find all the peculiar Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* are condemned in the Maxims that he so-

T. 4. *B. P.* pag. 72, & 73. lidly asserts in the 28*th* Chapter of his *Commonitorium*, where he maintains that the Church may every day make a further Progress in the Knowledg of Truth, and all this without making any Innovation: *Crescat igitur oportet, & multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesiæ, ætatum ac sæculorum gradibus intelligentia, scientia*

ſcientia ſapientia, ſed in ſuo duntaxat genere, in eodem ſe dogmate, eodem ſenſu, eademque ſententia. " The Underſtanding, Know-
" ledg and Wiſdom, as well of every ſingular Perſon as of
" the whole Church, ought to grow and greatly increaſe, ac-
" cording to the ſeveral Degrees of Times and Ages, but eve-
" ry one in his own way, that is to ſay, in the ſame Doctrine,
" in the ſame Senſe, and the ſame Judgment.

2. He in the ſame place exclaims againſt all new Doctrines and new Names, and yet owns that the Church acquires daily more Light in matters of Religion; *Sed ita tamen ut vere profectus ſit ille fidei non permutatio:* " But yet ſo that this is really
" an Advancement, not a Change of Faith.

3. He reduces all that we ought to believe to the Rule of Faith, and declares what is the true uſe, and the true Authority of the Doctors of the Church: *Quæ tamen antiqua ſanctorum Patrum conſenſio, non in omnibus divinæ legis quæſtiunculis, ſed ſolum certè præcipuè in fidei regula, magno nobis ſtudio & inveſtiganda eſt & ſequenda. —— Quibus tamen (Patribus) hâc lege credendum eſt, ut quicquid vel omnes vel plures, uno eodemque ſenſu manifeſtè frequenter perſeveranter, velut quodam conſentiente ſibi magiſtrorum conſilio, accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo firmaverint, id pro indubitato certo, ratoque habeatur.* " But yet this primitive
" Conſent of the Holy Fathers is not to be inquired after and
" followed as to the leſſer Queſtions of Divine Law alike,
" but eſpecially, if not only, in the Rule of Faith.—— Which
" Fathers we may give full Credit to, on this Condition, that
" whatſoever all or the moſt of them do in the ſame ſenſe,
" manifeſtly, frequently and conſtantly maintain, as in a Coun-
" cil of Maſters agreeing together, by their receiving, holding
" and delivering the ſame, that ought to be eſteemed unqueſti-
" onable, certain and firm. Pag. 78. cap. 39.

4. He lays down a Method how we may diſpute with the Church of *Rome*, about the Errors ſhe has drawn from Antiquity, by reducing the whole Diſpute to the Scripture: *Atque ideo quaſcunque illas antiquiores, vel Schiſmatum vel Hæreſeon profanitates, nullo modo nos oportet, niſi aut ſola, ſi opus eſt, Scripturarum authoritate convincere, aut certè jam antiquitus univerſalibus Sacerdotum Catholicorum Conciliis convictas damnataſque vitare.* Ibid.

" Wherefore we are no other way to convict all ancient Er-
" rors of Schism or Heresy, but either, if need be, by the sole
" Authority of Scripture, or else to avoid them as already
" condemned by the universal Councils of Catholick Priests.

5. He excellently explains the Use of Tradition, without derogating any thing from the Sufficiency of Scripture: *Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper, & esse hodieque Catholicorum consuetudinem, ut fidem veram duobus istis mediis adprobent: primum Divini Canonis authoritate; deinde Ecclesiæ traditione: non quia Canon solus non sibi ad universa sufficiat, sed quia verba Divina pro suo plerique arbitratu interpretantes, varias opiniones erroresque concipiant; atque ideo necesse sit ut ad unam Ecclesiastici sensus regulam; scripturæ cœlestis intelligentia dirigatur, in iis duntaxat præcipuè quæstionibus, quibus totius Catholici dogmatis fundamenta nituntur.* " We have said before, that this hath been and still is
" the Custom of Catholicks, to prove the true Faith two
" ways; 1*st*, by the Authority of the Divine Canon: And
" 2*dly*, by the Churches Tradition; not as if the Canon were
" not of it self sufficient, but because most Men interpret
" Scripture according to their own private Fancy, which has
" given occasion to various Opinions and Errors: Wherefore
" it is needful that the Understanding of Holy Scripture be re-
" gulated by one single Determination of the Church, and
" particularly in those Questions on which the Foundations of
" all Catholick Doctrine rest.

Pag. 79. c. antepenult.

Lastly; He desires that universal Consent may be taken only from such a Tradition as he authorizeth. *Item diximus in ipsa rursus Ecclesia, universitatis pariter ac antiquitatis consensionem spectari oportere, ne aut ab unitatis integritate in partem schismatis abrumpamur, aut à vetustatis religione, in Hæreseon novitates præcipitemur.* " We have said also that in the Church we are to
" have an Eye to the Consent of Universality and Antiquity,
" that we be not rent from the entire Union into a Schism, or
" be cast headlong from the Religion of the Ancients into the
" Novelties of Heresy.

Ibid.

There needs little more than these Maxims to secure a Church where they are taught from those Corruptions, into which the Church of *Rome* is fallen by her continual Practice of

of the contrary, as well in reſpect of the Doctrines of Faith, as of religious Worſhip.

Caſſian a Prieſt, the Diſciple of *Chryſoſtom*, hath writ much concerning the Inſtitutes of Monks, and accordingly we find in his Writings ſeveral Inſtances of their Folly and Pride. He ſaith the young Monks obſerved the Rules preſcribed to them ſo exactly, *Ut non ſolum non audeant abſque Præpoſiti ſui ſcientia, vel permiſſu, non ſolum cellâ progredi, ſed ne ipſi quidem communi & naturali neceſſitati ſatisfacere ſuâ authoritate præſumant.* " That " without leave obtained from their Abbot, they dare not on- " ly not ſtir out of their Cells, but what is more, not ſo much " as ſatisfy the common Neceſſities of Nature. He ſhews that Covetouſneſs began already to reign amongſt the Monks of his time. *Tertius*, ſaith he, *nobis eſt conflictus adverſus Philargyriam, quam nos amorem pecuniarum poſſumus appellare; peregrinum bellum & extra naturam, nec aliunde in Monacho ſumens principium, quam de corruptæ & torpidæ mentis ignaviâ, & plerumque initio abrenuntiationis male arrepto, & ergâ Deum tepido amore.* " Our third Conflict is with the Love of Money, a foreign " and unnatural War, and which ariſes in Monks from the " Sluggiſhneſs from a corrupt and benumm'd Mind, and very " oft is grounded upon an inconſiderate Entrance upon a Self- " denying Life, and a luke-warm Love towards God. He cannot bear the Impudence of thoſe covetous Monks, who defended themſelves with thoſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *It is more glorious to give than to receive.* He cenſures the impertinent Interpretation which ſome Monks put upon theſe Words of Chriſt, *Whoſoever doth not take up his Croſs and follow me, is not worthy of me: Quod quidam diſtrictiſſimi Monachorum, habentes quidem Zelum Dei, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, ſimpliciter intelligentes, fecerunt ſibi Cruces ligneas, eaſque jugiter humeris circumferentes, non ædificationem, ſed riſum cunctis videntibus intulerunt.* " Which " ſome of the ſtricteſt Monks having a Zeal for God, but not " according to Knowledg, taking too literally, made them- " ſelves wooden Croſſes, and by carrying them about upon " their Shoulders, inſtead of edifying, provoked thoſe that " ſaw them to Laughter.

Inſtitut. Cænob. lib. 4. cap. 10.

Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 1.

Lib. 7. cap. 16.

Collat. 8. cap. 3.

2. He informs us that the Monks of *Egypt* were no ſcrupulous Obſervers of their Faſts, and that they made no Difficulty of breaking them, in order to diſcharge ſome Duty which appeared of more Importance to them. *Caſſian* tells us he was ſurprized at it, but one of the eldeſt Monks returned him this excellent Anſwer: *Jejunium ſemper eſt mecum, vos autem continuò dimiſſurus, mecum jugiter tenere non potero. Et jejunium quidem, licet utile ſit, ac jugiter neceſſarium, tamen voluntarii muneris eſt oblatio: opus autem charitatis impleri, exigit præcepti neceſſitas.*

Inſt. Cænob. l. 5. cap. 14.

" To faſt is always in my power, but you being ready to depart,
" I cannot have you always with me. Beſides, to faſt, though
" it be uſeful and always neceſſary, yet it is but a Free-Will-
" Offering: whereas Acts of Charity are required of us upon
" the account of their being commanded.

3. It appears that they did not believe the Scriptures to be ſo obſcure, as at this day they are ſuppoſed to be. We may ſee what Abbot *Theodorus* thought of this matter, as we find it ſet down by *Caſſian*. *Monachum ad ſcripturarum notitiam pertingere cupientem, nequaquam debere labores ſuos, erga commentatorum libros impendere, ſed potius omnem mentis induſtriam & intentionem cordis, erga emundationem vitiorum carnalium detinere, quibus expulſis confeſtim cordis oculi, ſublato velamine Paſſionum, ſacramenta ſcripturarum velut naturaliter incipient contemplari. Siquidem nobis non ut eſſent incognita vel obſcura, ſancti ſpiritûs gratiâ promulgata ſunt: ſed noſtro vitio, velamine Peccatorum cordis oculos obnubente, redduntur obſcura, quibus rurſum naturali redditis ſanitati, ipſa ſcripturarum ſanctarum lectio, ad contemplationem veræ ſcientiæ abundè etiam ſola ſufficiat, nec eos commentatorum inſtitutionibus indigere.*

Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 34.

" That a Monk who deſires to attain to the Knowledg of
" Scripture, ought not to ſpend his time upon Commentators,
" but rather bend and apply his utmoſt Induſtry and Attention
" to the purging himſelf from fleſhly Luſts, which if they are
" once expelled, then immediately the Eyes of the Heart, up-
" on removing of the Vail of Paſſions, will as it were natu-
" rally begin to contemplate the Myſteries of Scripture; ſince
" we may be ſure that the Grace of the Holy Spirit never gave
" them forth that they ſhould continue unknown or obſcure;
" but they are darkned by our own Fault, becauſe the Vail of
" Sin

" Sin covers the Eyes of the Soul, which when once reſtored " to their natural Soundneſs, the very reading of the Holy Scrip- " ture is alone abundantly ſufficient for their Contemplation " of true Knowledg; neither do they further need the In- " ſtructions of Commentators.

4. It is evident that he did not believe Tranſubſtantiation, becauſe he ſaith, *Nemo in terris ſitus, in cœlis eſſe poteſt*; " No " body placed on the Earth can be in Heaven. De incar. lib. 7. cap. 4.

5. We find that he did not own Auricular Confeſſion, no more than *Chryſoſtom* his Maſter, becauſe where he gives an account of the means whereby we may obtain the Forgiveneſs of Sins, he doth not mention one Word of it. True it is that he ſpeaks indeed of a Confeſſion of Sins, but of ſuch an one as is to be made to God alone. *Nec non*, ſaith he, *per peccatorum confeſſionem, eorum abolitio conceditur; dixi enim, ait, pronuntiabo adverſum me injuſtitiam meam Domino, & tu remiſiſti impietatem peccati mei.* " And alſo by the Confeſſion of Sin their Forgiveneſs " is granted; for ſaith he, I ſaid, I will confeſs my Tranſgreſſi- " ons unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt the Iniquity of my " Sin. Collat. 20. c. 8.

6. He acknowledges that the Faſt of *Lent* was no Apoſtolical Law. *Sciendum ſanè hanc obſervationem quadrageſimæ, quamdiu Eccleſiæ illius primitivæ perfectio illibata permanſit, penitus non fuiſſe.---Verum cum ab illa Apoſtolica devotione deſcendens quotidie credentium multitudo ſuis opibus incubaret, nec eas uſui cunctorum, ſecundum Apoſtolorum inſtituta divideret; ſed privatim impendiis ſuis conſulens, non ſervare tantum, ſed etiam augere contenderet, Ananiæ & Sapphiræ exemplum non contenta ſectari; id tunc univerſis ſacerdotibus placuit, ut homines curis ſæcularibus illigatos, & penè, ut ita dixerim, continentiæ vel compunctionis ignaros, ad opus ſanctum Canonica indictione revocarent.* " We are to know that as long " as the Perfection of that Primitive Church remained un- " tainted, there was no ſuch Obſervation of *Lent*.—— But " when the Multitude of Believers daily declining from that " Apoſtolical Devotion, ſet their Hearts upon their Riches, " not diſtributing them for the uſe of all, according to the " Rule of the Apoſtles, but applying themſelves to private Ex- " pences, endeavoured not only to keep what they had, but to " increaſe Collat. 21. cap. 30.

" increaſe it, being not content to follow the Example of " *Ananias* and *Sapphira*; then was it thought good by the U- " niverſality of Prieſts, to recal Men that were intangled in " ſecular Buſineſs, and in a manner ignorant of what Conti- " nence or Compunction meant, to this holy Work by the " Canonical Injunction of a Faſt.

I proceed to other conſiderable Authors who have lived in theſe Dioceſſes. *Salvian* a Prieſt at *Marſeilles* informs us what their Faith was, in ſeveral important Articles.

Lib. 3. pag. 64. *T.* 5. *B. P.* 1. He refers all Faith to the Scriptures: *Si ſcire vis*, ſaith he, *quid tenendum ſit, habes literas ſacras: perfecta ratio eſt hoc tenere, quod legeris. —— Cum legimus quod regat cuncta quæ fecit; hoc ipſo approbamus quod regit, quia ſe regere teſtatur. Cum legimus quod præſenti judicio omnia diſpenſet; hoc ipſo eſt evidens quod judicat, quia ſe judicare confirmat. Alia enim omnia, id eſt humana dicta argumentis ac teſtibus egent; Dei autem ſermo ipſe ſibi teſtis eſt: quia neceſſe eſt quicquid incorrupta veritas loquitur, incorruptum ſit veritatis Teſtimonium.* " Wouldſt thou know what thou art to " believe; thou haſt the holy Scripture: 'tis the perfection of " Reaſon, to hold whatever thou readeſt there. —— When " we read that he rules every thing that he hath made; by " this we approve of his governing of every thing, becauſe he " ſays it. For all other, that is, humane Sayings, ſtand in need " of Proofs and Witneſſes; but God's Word is its own Wit- " neſs, becauſe whatſoever incorrupt Truth ſpeaks, muſt needs " be an incorrupt Witneſs of Truth.

2. He ſeems to approve of the difficulty which ſome of the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* made to ſwear, when he ſaith, *Juſſit* Ibid. pag. 68. *Salvator noſter, ut Chriſtiani homines non jurarent.* " Our Saviour " commanded that Chriſtians ſhould not ſwear.

3. He abſolutely forbids Pride to thoſe who believe themſelves righteous. See how he expreſſes himſelf; Pag. 72. *Et hoc intolerabilis ſuperbiæ atque immanis piaculi crimen eſt, ſi tam bonum ſe aliquis eſſe credat, ut etiam malos exiſtimet per ſe poſſe ſalvari. Loquens Deus de terra quadam, vel de populo peccatore, ſic dicit: Si fuerint tres viri in medio ejus, Noe & Daniel & Job, non liberabunt filios & filias, ipſi ſoli ſalvi erunt. Neminem tamen reor tam impudentem*

dentem fore qui ſe his talibus viris audeat comparare : quia quamvis placere nunc aliquis Deo ſtudeat, hoc ipſum tamen genus maximum injuſtitiæ eſt, ſi ſe juſtum præſumat. " This alſo is intolerable " Pride, and the higheſt Wickedneſs, for any one to think " himſelf ſo good, as that wicked Men may be ſav'd by his " means, *&c.* and concludes ; For though a Man may do his " endeavour to pleaſe God, yet is it the higheſt kind of Un- " righteouſneſs, if he preſume himſelf to be righteous. He paſſeth the ſame Judgment upon thoſe who believe they merit by their Prayer. *Neque enim unquam nos ita vivimus ut exaudiri mereamur.* " Neither do we ever live ſo as to deſerve to have " our Prayers heard. Lib.6.pag.103.

4. He gives us a perfect Picture of the Hypocriſy of the Monks of his time. *Qui*, ſaith he, *ſub ſpeciæ Religionis, vitiis ſæcularibus mancipati : qui ſcilicet poſt veterum flagitiorum probra & crimina, titulo ſanctitatis ſibi inſcripto, non converſatione aliis, ſed profeſſione nomen tantum denotaverunt, non vitam : & ſummam divini cultus habitum magis quam actum exiſtimantes, veſtem tantummodo exuere non mentem.* —— " For they do almoſt all things in " ſuch a manner, that you would not ſo much think that they " had repented of their former Crimes, as that afterwards " they had repented of their Repentance ; nor that at firſt " they repented of their wicked Lives, ſo much as afterwards " that they had ever promis'd to live well. —— A new kind " of Converſion this is ; What is lawful they don't do, and " commit what is unlawful. They abſtain from Women, " but not from Rapine. He adds to his ſharp Cenſure of " them, that God never forbad Marriage ? O fooliſh Perſua- " ſion, what doſt thou ? God forbids Sin, not Marriage ; your " Actions do not agree with your Profeſſion ; you muſt not " be Friends to Crimes, who pretend to be Followers of " Vertues. He ſhews alſo that at *Carthage* they were ex- treamly deſpiſed. " And if at any time any Servant of God, " from the Monaſteries of *Egypt*, or the holy Places at *Jeruſa- lem*, or from the holy and venerable Retirements of the " Wilderneſs, happened to come to that Town to perform " ſome divine Office ; he was no ſooner ſeen by the People, " but they all loaded him with opprobrious Language, Sacri- " ledg and Curſes. Lib. 5. pag. 94. Lib.8.pag.125.

5. He

5. He shews that it is in vain for any one to bear the Name of Catholick, if he doth not answer that Character; and he prefers the *Goths* and *Vandals*, that were *Arians*, to the Orthodox Christians of his time. " They, saith he, are humble towards God, we rebellious; they believed Victory to " be in God's Hand, we in our own. —— What can the Priviledg of a religious Name avail us, that we call our selves " Catholicks, that we boast our selves to be Believers, that " we despise the *Goths* and *Vandals*, by reviling them as Hereticks, whilst we our selves live as ill as Hereticks? —— If " we be not found doing these things (*viz.* the Duties of true " Christians) it is in vain that we flatter our selves with the " empty Presumption of the Name of Catholicks.

Lib. 7. pag. 114.

6. He sufficiently shews that Prayer for the Dead, was at that time thought to be a very uncertain thing, when he saith; " But if either the violence of the Disease be such, or the " carelesness of the Sick hath been so great as to continue in " their spiritual Infection till they are a dying, then I don't know " what to say, or what to promise. —— It is better indeed to " leave nothing unattempted, than to neglect a dying Person; " especially, because I do not know, whether to endeavour " any thing at the last Gasp may be a Medicine; sure it is, that " to try nothing, is certain Perdition.

Pag. 142. ad Ec. Cath. Lib. 1.

7. He expressly excludes the Doctrine of Merits. " For this " alone what Equivalent can Man pay, for whom Christ " gave himself, by the suffering of most extream Pains? Or " what will he render to the Lord worthy of him, who " owns God himself to be God, by whom he was redeemed?

Pag. 148. ad Ec. Lib. 2.

I ought in this Place to mention a Canon of the first Council of *Orange* held in the year 441, at which 15 of the Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the Country about *Lions* assisted. 'Tis the XVII Canon; the first Words are these, *Cum Capsa & Calix offerendus est* (other MSS. have *inferendus*, which seems more agreeable to reason) *& admixitione Eucharistiæ consecrandus.*

We find that this Canon does hint at these two things very clearly. 1*st*, That at that time they kept the Bread of the Eucharist in a Casket or Coffer, so far were they from making

making it an Object of their Adoration. 2*d*, That the mingling only of the Bread that was conſecrated before, with the Wine that was not conſecrated, made them look upon the Wine, though not conſecrated by the Words of Jeſus Chriſt, as the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt; which is the moſt extravagant and ſenſleſs Notion in the World, if we ſuppoſe that theſe Fathers were ſeaſon'd with the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, which attributes to the Words of Chriſt, only the Virtue of changing the Subſtance of the Wine into the Subſtance of the Blood of Chriſt. *Allatius* takes a great deal of pains to avoid this Argument, which ſhews, that the Greek Church, that believes the ſame, cannot be of the Faith of the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time, the thing is certain, and *Mabillon* has ingenuouſly acknowledged, that this is the true ſenſe of that Canon. And indeed there are many Proofs that make it evident, that both the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers were of this Opinion.

Comment. de Ordine Rom. pag. 139.

Salonius one of the moſt famous Biſhops of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, owns no other Doctrine but that of the Old and New-Teſtament. *Drink Waters out of thine own Ciſtern; and running Waters out of thine own Well. S.* "By Ciſtern he means the Catholick "Doctrine, that is, that of the Old and New-Teſtament; and "by the Well, he underſtands the Depth and Height of the "ſame Catholick Doctrine, that is, the various meanings of "holy Scripture: For in theſe Words, he teacheth us to be-"ware of the Doctrine of Hereticks, and to attend to the rea-"ding of Holy Scripture.

B. P. T. 1. pag. 134.

He will have the Author's Meaning, and not Tradition, to be the Explication of Scripture. *Do not remove the antient Land-marks or Bounds which thy Fathers have ſet. S.* "By the an-"tient Bounds he underſtands the Bounds of Truth and Faith, "which Catholick Doctors have plac'd from the beginning. He would have no Man therefore receive the Truth of Holy Faith and Goſpel-Doctrine, any otherwiſe than it hath been handed down to them by the Holy Fathers; and likewiſe commands that no Man interpret the Words of Holy Scripture, otherwiſe than according to the Intention of each Writer.

Pag. 141.

He doth not own the *Apocrypha*. How many Books did *Solomon* publiſh? *S.* " Three only, according to the number of " their Titles, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and *Canticles*. *V.* What " doth *Solomon* ſay in the *Proverbs*, or what doth he teach in *Ec-* " *cleſiaſtes*, and his *Songs?*

Pag. 147.

He aſſigns but two Places whither the Soul goes immediately. " For, by the Tree, Man is underſtood, becauſe every " Man is as it were a Tree in the Wood of Mankind; by the " South, which is a warm Wind, is ſignified the Reſt of Para- " diſe; and by the North, which is cold, is ſignified the Pain " of Hell: and the meaning of it is, Whereſoever Man pre- " pares a Place for his future abode, if to the South, when he " falls (that is, dies) he ſhall abide to all Eternity in the Reſt of " Paradiſe, and the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Pag. 157.

He makes it the greateſt Abſurdity, that a Man ſhould eat his own Fleſh; which yet follows from the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. " But that Expreſſion, He eats his own Fleſh, is " ſpoke by an Hyperbole. *V.* What is an Hyperbole? *S.* When " any thing is expreſt that is incredible. *V.* How is this expreſt " hyperbolically, he eats his own Fleſh? *S.* Becauſe it is incre- " dible that any Man ſhould eat his own Fleſh; but to aggra- " vate the ſlothfulneſs of this Fool, he ſaith, that he eats his " own Fleſh, to ſhew that a Fool rather deſires his Fleſh " ſhould waſte by Hunger, and be conſumed by the Miſe- " ry of Want, than to ſupport it by the labour of his Hands. Theſe are all Maxims concerning divers important Articles, very different from the preſent Maxims of the Church of *Rome*.

Pag. 153.

I grant that *Proſper*, who was a Native of *Aquitain*, was no more than a Lay-man, but he was in ſo great a Reputation, that there were but few Biſhops of his time, that have ſhewn more Knowledg, or expreſt more Zeal for the defence of Truth, than he did. This Teſtimony is given of him by *Caſſiodorus*, *Photius* and *Vaſquez*. Wherefore his Teſtimony concerning the Faith of his Country, muſt be of great weight with us.

Cod. 54. T. 1. diſp. 91. cap. 11.

Would we know the Opinion of the Church of this Dioceſs? He tells us of a ſmall part of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, thereby

Dimid. Temp. cap. 6.

thereby meaning the Euchariſt or the Sacrament, which was given in little Bits. And it is in the ſame ſenſe that he ſpeaks of a ſmall part of the Sacrifice; Expreſſions that are utterly inconſiſtent with the Notion of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the carnal Preſence. And indeed it is plain in all his Writings, that he follows the ſteps of St. *Auguſtin*, in his Expreſſions and Judgments of things which are contrary to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*.

This we may ſee in his Extract of the Sentences of St. *Auguſtin*, where he repeats what that Father had ſaid upon *Pſalm* 33. upon occaſion of theſe Words of the vulgar Verſion, which ſays, that *David ferebatur in manibus ſuis*, in the preſence of *Achiſh*. Where it clearly appears, that he underſtood thoſe Words as well as St. *Auguſtin* did, of the Sacrament of his Body, which may be called his Body in ſome ſenſe; that is to ſay, by way of Likeneſs, as St. *Auguſtin* expreſſeth himſelf concerning it.

I cite nothing here from thoſe other Works, which are attributed to him, becauſe indeed they are none of his.

I ſhall only obſerve two things: The firſt is, that in his Epiſtle to *Demetrius* he plainly ſhews, that he knew nothing of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Neceſſity of the Miniſters Intention for the Validity of the Sacraments: for there he attributes all to the Work of God, and not to that of the Miniſter, according to the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtin*, upon the Queſtion of the Validity of Baptiſm conferred by Hereticks.

The other is, that as he follows St. *Auguſtin* in the Matter of Free-Grace, as one may ſee in his Poems gathered from the Opinions of St. *Auguſtin* and his Sentences, ſo he rejects the Doctrine of Merit and Works, as a pure *Pelagian* Doctrine, in ſeveral Places of his Writings.

Laſtly, We muſt join with theſe Authors, *Arnobius* the Rhetorician (ſince it is very probable that he lived in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, becauſe he has dedicated ſome of his Works to *Leontius* Biſhop of *Arles*, to the Biſhop of *Narbonne*, and *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez*, who died about the year 485.) *Arnobius* explains his Belief in the Matter of the Euchariſt after this

manner. *We have received*, ſaith he upon the *4th Pſalm*, *Wheat in the Body*, *Wine in the Blood*, *and Oil in Chriſme.* So likewiſe on *Pſal.* 104. he ſaith of Jeſus Chriſt, that he adminiſters, *not only the ſpecies of Bread*, *but alſo of Wine and Oil.* Thus it is he deſcribes the Euchariſt and Baptiſm. We may obſerve likewiſe, that as he recommends to Believers the conſideration of theſe Words, *ſurſum Corda*, at the Moment of their receiving theſe Myſteries, ſo he doth not own that any receive the Body of Chriſt beſides thoſe that fear him, and who by Faith are made the Sanctuary of God: thus he argues in his Commentaries upon *Pſal.* 21, & 132.

Upon Pſal. 120.

As for *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez*, whatever Conteſts he had with thoſe who defended the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtin* in the matter of Grace, which made Pope *Gelaſius* condemn his Writings; yet certain it is, that *France* has always had the higheſt eſteem for him poſſible; and his Name is regiſtred in the Catalogue of her Saints, in the Roman Martyrology, till it was expunged by *Molanes* in the laſt Century. Neither hath this hindred, but that to this Day he is honoured, and prayed unto as a Saint in the Dioceſs of *Riez*. His Doctrine is as follows.

T. 2. *B. P.* pag. 148.

1. He rejects the Merits of good Works, and Works of Supererrogation, as particularly, as if he had had an Eye to the Papiſts: " Wherefore (ſaith he) though we endeavour with " all Labours of Soul and Body; though we exerciſe our " ſelves with all the might of our Obedience; yet nothing of " all this is of ſufficient Worth to be rendred or offer'd up by " us as a deſerving Recompence for Heavenly-good Things. " No temporal Obedience whatſoever can be equivalent to " the Joys of Eternal Life. Though our Limbs may be wea- " ried with Watchings, and our Faces diſcolour'd with Fa- " ſtings, yet when all is done, the Sufferings of this time " will never be worthy to be compared with that Glory " which ſhall be revealed in us. He diſcourſeth much at the ſame rate concerning Grace and Free-will.

Rom. 8.

Book 2. chap. 4. Pag. 726.

2. We ſee clearly that he did not own the Exiſtence of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, in the manner of a Spirit, becauſe he maintains all Creatures to be corporeal; and that

that the Soul is diſtinctly in a certain place, becauſe if it were otherwiſe, we muſt conclude it to be every where. That which is very ſtrange, is, that *Mamertus*, who hath refuted him, doth yet more directly thwart this Doctrine of *Rome*, by the various Hypotheſes which he propoſeth when he confutes this *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez*. But this Century hath detain'd me too long; I proceed now therefore to conſider the State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century. Lib. de Creat. Pag. 558.

CHAP. VI.

The State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century.

WE do not find ſo many Authors of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century, as we have had in the foregoing: but however, thoſe we have of them, are ſufficient to inform us what their State was. I begin with St. *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, who aſſiſted at the Council of *Agde* in the year 502, and died in 542; ſo that he reach'd almoſt the middle of this Century.

This great Man fully repreſents the Notion that he had of the Euchariſt, when he ſhews, that in Baptiſm there is the ſame Change, and the ſame Preſence of the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt which he owns in the Euchariſt; as appears in his 4*th* and 5*th* *Homily*. But in his 7*th* *Homily*, he ſpeaks in ſuch a manner as needs no Commentary: "And therefore ſince he was now "about to withdraw his aſſumed Body from our Eyes, and "carry it up to Heaven, it was needful that the ſame day he "ſhould conſecrate for us the Sacrament of his Body and "Blood, that he might continually be remembred by the "Myſtery which was once offer'd up for our Redemption: that ſo ſeeing his Interceſſion for the Salvation of Man was daily and continual, the offering up of our Redemption might be perpetual alſo, that this everlaſting Sacrifice might live in our Memory, and be always preſent by Grace. Pag. 278.

2. Though

2. Though he ſpeaks of the Euchariſt as changed into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt by the Power of God, yet he maintains that it is by Faith, and by the Acts of Underſtanding, that we can partake thereof. See how he ſpeaks to a Chriſtian who hath been regenerated by Baptiſm. " Wherefore as without " any bodily feeling, having laid aſide what before thou e- " ſteemedſt advantageous, thou art ſuddenly become clothed " with a new Dignity: and as it is not thy Eyes, but thy Un- " derſtanding that perſuades thee that God hath healed what " was wounded in thee, blotted out thy Sins, and waſh'd away " thy Stains; ſo when thou goeſt up to the venerable Altar to " be ſatisfied with Food, thou may'ſt ſee the ſacred Body and " Blood of thy God by Faith, admire it with Reverence, reach " it with thy Mind, receive it with thy Heart, and above all, " take it in with thy Soul.

3. He expreſly aſſerts, that the Body which the Prieſt diſtributes, is as well in a little Part as in the Whole; which agrees only with the Sacrament, and not with the natural Body of Jeſus Chriſt.

4. He maintains, that the Oblation of the Bread and Wine made by *Melchizedeck*, did typically ſignify the Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt; which is abſolutely falſe, if it be true that the Conſecration deſtroys the Nature of the things offered, as the Church of *Rome* believes. Hear what he ſaith: " He there- " fore, in *Melchizedeck*, (whoſe Genealogy or Original was " unknown to thoſe of that time) by the offering of Bread and " Wine did foreſhew this Sacrifice of Chriſt: of whom the " Prophet pronounceth, Thou art a Prieſt for ever, according " to the order of *Melchizedeck*. And Bleſſed *Moſes* alſo ſpeaking " of this Myſtery, ſignifies the Wine and Blood with one " Word; *Long before*, (pointing at the Lord's Paſſion) *in the* " *Bleſſing of the Patriarch, he ſhall waſh his Garment in Wine, and his* " *Clothes in the Blood of the Grape.* Mark how evidently it ap- " pears, that the Creature Wine is called the Blood of Chriſt. " Conſider what thou art further to enquire concerning this " twofold Species, ſeeing the Lord himſelf witneſſeth. " Ex- " cept, ſaith he, you ſhall eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, " and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you; which Teſti- " mony

" mony is a moſt evident and ſtrong Argument againſt the " Blaſphemies of *Pelagius*, who impiouſly preſumes to main- " tain that Baptiſm ought to be conferred upon Infants, not " to obtain Life, but to attain the Kingdom of Heaven: For " by theſe Words of our Lord pronounced by the Evangeliſt, " *You ſhall not have Life in you*, is plainly underſtood, that eve- " ry Soul that hath not been baptized, is not only deprived of " Glory, but Life alſo.

Laſtly, In the ſame Sermon, he ſaith, in Conformity with the Notion of St. *Cyprian*, about the Mixture of the Water with the Wine in the Chalice, that by the Water is repreſented the Figure of the Nations, and by the Wine the Blood of the Paſſion of our Saviour, which ſuppoſeth the Subſiſtence of the Wine, as well as of the Water, and utterly overthrows the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.

2. He overturns the Notion of the Romiſh Purgatory, and follows here alſo the Sentiments of thoſe of the Ancients, who removed Purgatory to the laſt Day of Judgment. " But if " neither in our Tribulations we bleſs God, nor redeem our " Sins by good Works, we ſhall ſo long abide in that Purga- " tory, till all our leſſer Sins be conſumed, like Wood, Hay, " and Stubble. But ſome body may ſay, What matter is it " how long I ſtay there, ſo I may but at laſt paſs through into " eternal Life? Let no Man ſay ſo, moſt dear Brethren, for " as much as this Purgatory Fire is more painful than any thing " that can be thought, ſeen or felt in this World. And ſeeing " it is writ of the Day of Judgment, that it ſhall be one Day, " how can any one know whether he may be Days, Months, " or even Years, in paſſing through it? Homil. 8. pag. 282.

3. In his 12*th* Homily he exhorts the People, not to go out of the Church on Sundays, before the Celebration of the Euchariſt; and makes the Prayers of the Prieſt to appear ridiculous, when there are no Communicants to receive: *To whom*, ſaith he, *ſhall the Prieſt ſay, Surſum corda?* But we are eſpecially to obſerve, that when he preſſes the Greatneſs of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the Adoration due to the Sacrament, he ſays never a Word of what ſome Popiſh Orator would repreſent to us on the like Occaſion.

4. In

4. In the 20*th* Homily he exhorts the Country People to read the Scriptures, and removes all Excuſes which they might make to avoid this Duty, with as much Earneſtneſs as thoſe of the Church of *Rome* expreſs'd, when they would diſſwade their Auditors from the reading of it.

5. The 38*th* Homily is a Collection of ſeveral places of Scripture, treating of the means by which Remiſſion of Sins is granted to us. He reckons up there twelve ſeveral means, where we are to take notice, 1*ſt*, That he doth not ſpeak one Word of confeſſing to a Prieſt, nor of the Power God hath beſtowed on them to pardon Sins, as Judges, which at preſent is the great and only mean to obtain the Pardon of Sin; thoſe other whereof St. *Cæſarius* ſpeaks, being of no uſe without the Pardons pronounced by the Prieſt, in the Tribunal of Confeſſion. That which is here peculiar is, that tho he has ſaid a very great deal about the Efficacy of Contrition for the Remiſſion of Sins, in his 29*th* Homily, he has not been able to avoid the *cautè lege* of the *Romiſh* Cenſors, as we may ſee in the *Bibliotheca Patrum, of the Paris Edition.* 2*dly*, We are to obſerve that whereas the Church of *Rome* pretends to find the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and Auricular Confeſſion, in the 5*th* Chapter of St. *James*'s Epiſtle; *Cæſarius* diſcovers nothing there, but the Chriſtian Duty of praying one for another, proceeding from the Charity we owe to our Neighbour.

Ruricius was Biſhop of *Limoges* from the Year 535. in which he aſſiſted at the firſt Council of *Auvergne*: He aſſiſted alſo at the 4*th* Council of *Orleans*, in 541. and at the 5*th*, in 549.

We have nothing left us of this Prelate, ſave his two Books of Epiſtles, though even there we can inform our ſelves about ſeveral very important Matters, which demonſtrate what the Faith was that was then received and imbraced in *Aquitain.*

1. He takes for granted that dying Perſons are immediately taken up into Heaven, ſo far is he from mentioning Purgatory. See in what manner he comforts *Namacius* and *Ceraunia*, for the Loſs of their Son. " Indeed you have reaſon to take a " great deal of Comfort from the Will of Chriſt, ſince un- " timely Death was his Lot, that he has been pleaſed to take " him away in that State, to which he pronounceth the King- " dom

T. 3. *B. Patr.* pag. 381. Ep. 3. ad finem.

" dom of Heaven to belong, that at the ſame time you might " have a Patron inſtead of a Son, and leave off deploring him " as loſt, whom you ſee the Lord hath taken to himſelf. And in another place: " Wherefore let your Faith wipe off " your Tears, ſince we believe that thoſe who are dear to us, " do not loſe their Life, but change it, they leave this World " full of Sorrows, and haſten to the Region of the Bleſſed, " and take their leave of this painful Pilgrimage, that they may " arrive at the Land of Reſt. Pag. 382.

2. He ſuppoſeth *Abraham's Boſom* and *Heaven* to be the ſame thing, when he brings in a young Woman that enjoyed the Glory of Heaven, ſpeaking after this manner: " Wherefore " my loving Parents, rather bewail your own Sins, and ſeri- " ouſly think of redeeming your own Crimes, that if you " love me in Chriſt, you may be thought worthy to be admit- " ed into the Patriarch's Boſom, where the Lord acording to " the Purity of my Innocence, and his great Kindneſs has " placed me, *&c.* Pag. 383. Epiſt. 4.

3. He exhorts a Lady of his Acquaintance to the reading of Holy Scripture, when he ſent her a Painter. " But, ſaith he, you " ought to look for more perfect and great Inſtruments in thoſe " Divine Writings from whence theſe are taken, if ever you " deſire to perfect what you have begun, or attain what is " promiſed you. If you thus ſeek, the Lord will give you " both Knowledg and Strength to underſtand what you read, " and keep what you underſtand.

St. *Ferreolus* Biſhop of *Uzez*, muſt not be forgot by us, he was choſen in the Year 553. and died in 581. We find in the Rule that he writ for Monks, that he ſetled in his Dioceſs an uncommon Strain of Piety.

1. We do not find him to demand the Approbation of this his Rule at *Rome*, as has been done for ſome Ages ſince. He ſends to the Biſhop of *Die*, to deſire his Advice, and afterwards publiſhed it with the Approbation only of that Biſhop, without troubling himſelf about any other Authority.

2. He orders his Monks to work with their Hands, that they might not be chargeable to the Publick, as all the Orders of Mendicants are at this time. Cap. 5. Regul.

3. He receives none but such as are come to Mens Estate, and will have them tried before they be admitted, whereas St. *Bennet* ordained, that those whom their Parents had presented
Cap. 11. to a Monastery, should from their Infancy be received and abide there.

4. He will have the great Employment of the Monks to be the reading of the Psalms, which he will have them go through every Week.

5. He will have them on Anniversary Days of the Martyrdom of the Saints, to read the Acts of their Martyrdom, for a worthy Celebration of the Memory of their Passion; but not a Word of incouraging the Monks to offer up Prayers to
F. 6. 18. them on these solemn Days.

6. Above all he requires of every Monk daily to read the Scripture, and not to dispense with it, upon any Pretence, or because of any other Business whatsoever.

Fortunatus was born in *Italy*, but coming into *France* in the Year 57[illegible]. he stayed there in the Service of St. *Radegunda*, and was ordained Priest at *Poictiers*, where he lived in great Reputation till the end of that Century. Some will have him to have been raised to the Episcopal Dignity in the same City, but this appears to be wholly uncertain. *Gregorius Turonensis*, who often mentions him as his Friend, never gives him any other Title but that of Priest. However it be, it appears by his Writings, that he was very far from Popery; in these following Articles.

1. He never in the Life of St. *Martin* attributes to that holy Man, that upon any occasion he prayed to the Saints for the
Book 2. pag. 764. *Bib. Patr.* working of his Miracles. This we may see in his Relation of St. *Martin*'s raising a Child to Life.

2. He looks upon all Bishops as the Vicars of St. *Peter*; accordingly he saith to the Bishop of *Metz*; *Apparet Petri vos meruisse vices*: It appears you have deserved to be St. *Peter*'s Vicar.

3. We meet with nothing more commonly in the Epitaphs which he made, than this Notion, that deceased Believers are in Heaven; from such Expressions as these; *Hunc tenet ulna Dei. Inter Apostolicos credimus esse choros. Non hanc flere decet,*

quam

quam Paradiſus habet. Accordingly alſo he maintains that *Abraham*'s Boſom is the Heavenly Glory. Pag. 756.

Laſtly; It appears from an Expoſition he hath made on the Apoſtles Creed, that he owned no Doctrines, beſides thoſe contained in that ancient Formulary, as Articles of his Faith, becauſe he makes no mention at all of thoſe new Articles which the Church of *Rome* hath added to that Creed, and which ſhe impoſeth on her People, as another part of that which makes the Object of Faith.

It cannot be denied but that the Spirit of Superſtition had already made a conſiderable Progreſs in all places; we meet with an illuſtrious Example thereof in the Dioceſs of *Marſeilles*, which joined to *Gallia Narbonenſis*: The People there began to render a religious Worſhip to Images, whereupon *Serenus* the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* was forced to follow the Method of St. *Epiphanius*, in breaking the Images to pieces, which drew upon him the Cenſures of *Gregory* I. who exhorts him to erect them again, though he commends him for having oppoſed himſelf to their Adoration, and exhorts him carefully to inſtruct the People, to prevent their falling again into Idolatry. And it is natural to conclude, that this Exceſs of the People met with the ſame Checks in many other places. Lib. 9. Ep. 9.

CHAP. VII.

The State of the Dioceſſes of Aquitain, *and* Narbon, *in the Seventh Century.*

I am come to the Seventh Century, of which I have two pieces of great Authority to produce: The firſt concerns the Purity of theſe Dioceſſes, in regard to their Faith. There was a Council held at *Toledo* in the Year 633, whereat *Silva* Biſhop of *Narbon* aſſiſted, in the Name of the Biſhops of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and they began the Synod with a Confeſſion of Faith, which ſhews beyond all Controverſy, that nothing was look'd upon by them as an Article of Faith, that was not received for ſuch in the Creed of the ancient Chriſtians; for there was not ſo much as one Word to be found there of all thoſe Articles which the *Church of Rome* impoſeth upon thoſe of her Communion, as an Addition to the primitive Faith.

The ſecond regards the Practice of the publick Acts of Religion, and that is the *Gothick* Liturgy, which of a long time was uſed in theſe Dioceſſes; wherefore to make a fuller Diſcovery of the Religion of theſe Provinces, it will be of Importance to make ſome Remarks upon this Liturgy, which was in uſe there.

It is not probable that all the Parts of it are of equal Antiquity, as may be ſeen by the Office of the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin in Soul and Body, which was rejected in *France*, as a thing uncertain, towards the end of the *9th* Century, according to the Teſtimony of *Uſuardus*. One may make the ſame Judgment of divers other Offices, which are found in this *Gothick* Liturgy; the Barbariſm which appears in all its parts, ſufficiently ſhows its Age: In the mean time ſuch as it is, it does not want the Marks of a conſiderable Purity, which it ſeems, obliged *Gregory* VII. to aboliſh and ſuppreſs it with all his Might.

1. We

1. We find in it the Recital of the Apoſtles Creed, as the only Profeſſion of Faith, which the Churches of theſe Provinces required of thoſe who would be Partakers of her Communion

2. We don't find in it any Prayer addreſs'd to Saints. It ſuppoſeth all along from one end to the other, that the Saints pray in general for the Church, and on this Ground it is, that therein they deſire God to have regard to their Prayers, and to receive their Interceſſion, their Suffrages, and ſo forth. *Patrocinia.* There is no greater ſtreſs laid upon the Power of the Bleſſed Virgin with God, than on that of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, yea, of the Anchorets and Virgins. True it is, that there is a ſolemn Commemoration of divers Saints, but it may eaſily be perceived, that it is only done out of a Deſign to glorify God, by repreſenting to themſelves their Examples, and forming or diſpoſing themſelves to imitate them. This is done in the Office of St. *Forreſtus* and *Ferucio.*

We find divers Confeſſions to God before the Liturgy, but none at all made to Angels, to the Bleſſed Virgin or Saints, as at this day is done in the Romiſh Maſs. Pag. 271.

3. We find there no particular Diſtinction for the Biſhop of *Rome*, only that the Biſhop of the City of *Rome* is called the firſt of Biſhops. *Mabillon* in his Preface triumphs, becauſe of this Title, but he is extreamly out in his account; for hath the firſt Biſhop any Juriſdiction over the ſecond? the ſecond over the third? We find there the Prayer for the Feaſt of St. *Peter*, but with a Clauſe which *Mabillon* owns to be found in all the ancient Miſſals, and is ſtruck out of the Roman Liturgy, in order to extend the Papal Monarchy over all the Earth. Pag. 276. Pag. 266.

We do not find therein the leaſt Foot-ſtep of Prayers for the Pope, which ſhews that the Decree of the Council of *Vaiſon*, wherein it was ordained that Prayers ſhould be made to God for the Biſhop of *Rome*, was not obſerved throughout *Gaul*; yea what is more, the ſame Liturgy gives the Title of Head of the Church to St. *Paul*, as well as to St *Peter*.

We find therein no Adoration of the Croſs on Good-Friday.

4. We find therein an Office for St. *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, who is looked upon as come from the Eaſtern Parts in

in the place of St. *Peter*, which shews that all the Bishops of *France* considered themselves as the Vicars of St. *Peter*, as well
Pag. 220. as the Bishop of *Rome*: *Si quidem ipse Pontifex tuus ab Orientis partibus in urbem Tolosatium destinatus, Roma, Garonæ invicem Petri tui, tam Cathedram, quam Martyrium consummavit.* " For this " your Bishop being sent from the East to *Tholouse*, instead of " *Rome*, has now upon the *Garonne* filled the Chair, and consum- " mated the Martyrdom of your *Peter*.

5. We find therein that the Confession of St. *Peter* was the Foundation of the Church; and the Festival of his Chair is
Pag. 227. therein referred to his Bishoprick. *Testis est dies hodierna Beati Petri Cathedra Episcopatus exposita: in qua fidei merito revelationis mysterium, filium Dei confitendo, Prælatus Apostolus ordinatur. In cujus confessione est fundamentum Ecclesiæ; nec adversus hanc Petram portæ inferi prævalent.* " St. *Peter*'s Episcopal Chair, which is " shewn to this Day, can testify this: wherein by reason of " his Faith, when he confessed that Mystery that was then re- " vealed, even the Son of God, he was ordained a Bishop. " In whose Confession is the Foundation of the Church; nei- " ther shall the Gates of Hell prevail against this Rock.

6. We read there that the Gates of Hell do not signify Errors, as the Church of *Rome* will have it, but the State of the Dead, from whence the Faith which St. *Peter* hath professed, delivers those who imitate him: " Let us pray, saith he, that " the Souls of the deceased being brought up out of Hell, " the infernal Gates may not prevail over the Dead, because " of their Crimes which the Church believes are overcome " by the Faith of the Apostle.

7. We find there, as in the Romish Mass, an high Abjura-
Pag. 230. tion of the Doctrine of the Merit of Works: And though we find the Word *Merit* often used in it, yet we also meet with those necessary Explications of it, as are sufficient to hinder any wrong Impression that may be made by a Word of an ambiguous sense.

8. I do own that we find in it the Prayer for the Dead, but there are a hundred other Passages which speak them to be in *Peace*, in the *Peace of God*, that they are at rest; and other Expressions which very plainly import that they had not received the

the Notion of Purgatory, no more than the Authors of the Roman Liturgy had at that time.

I know there are ſome Paſſages in it, which ſeem to ſuppoſe the Souls departed to be in a place of Torment; but I have two things to ſay to this Point; the one is, that thoſe Miſſals, whoſe Stile comes near to the Belief of the Church of *Rome*, are of a later Date: the other is, that the ordinary Article, *pro pauſantibus*, *for thoſe who are at reſt*, imports nothing like a place of Torment. To theſe two Conſiderations we may add, That what is ordinarily requeſted for them, is either that they may have a part in the firſt, that is to ſay, a more early Reſurrection, which is the ſame with the Opinion of the *Millennium*: or that they may be written in the Book of Life, or carried into *Abraham*'s Boſom: which ſhews that the State of Souls after Death, was not more certainly determined by thoſe who governed theſe Churches at this time, than by the Members of the Catholick Church any where elſe.

We read that there are divers Flocks, whereof each Biſhop is the Paſtor, as well St. *Cyprian* as *Cornelius*. Indeed we find that to every Biſhop is given the Title of *ſummus Pontifex*, and *ſummus Sacerdos*. " Grant unto us, Lord, who this Day are " celebrating the Anniverſary of the Deceaſe of thy high Prieſt " and our Father, *Biſhop Martin*. Pag. 279. Pag. 290.

We ſee there the manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm, with the Unction or anointing called the *Chriſmation*; but we do not find that they made two Sacraments of them, as the Church of *Rome* has ſince done.

We find there alſo the Conſecration of Wax Tapers, but yet without aſcribing to them all thoſe Virtues which the Church of *Rome* attributes to her conſecrated Tapers in the *Roman Order*. Pag 24..

But I go on to that which is moſt conſiderable in this Liturgy. *Mabillon*, who hath publiſhed it in *France*, according to the Copy printed at *Rome*, pretends that it expreſly ſhews, that the Churches which made uſe of this Liturgy, held the Doctrine of the Real Preſence. If inſtead of ſome Paſſages that he quotes, we could find there a preciſe Order for adoring the Sacrament after Conſecration, as being become the Body of

of Jesus Christ, which we do not find in any part of it, there would indeed be some ground for his Pretension; but there is not so much as a Word to this purpose: which makes it evident, that in these Dioceſſes, they had not received this Doctrine, nor the natural Consequences of it any more than in any other part of the Catholick Church; for we find that as soon as ever this Opinion was entertained, it was immediately followed with supreme Adoration.

Neither do we find any thing therein of the Sacrifice of the Mass, any more than of the Adoration of the Sacrament, which is another Consequence of the Real Presence.

We do not find any Masses there without Communicants. St. *Cæsarius*, whom I have already cited, would have accounted them ridiculous and a mere Profanation.

Lastly; We do not find that the Communion under one kind was there thought to be a Consequent, as it hath been in the Church of *Rome*, of the Real Presence: And yet one would think that the Fear of prophaning the Blood of Jesus Christ, as being very subject to be spilt, ought to have obliged them to take the same Precautions, as the Church of *Rome* has since done to prevent such dreadful and yet such common Inconveniencies.

If *Mabillon* had well considered these essential Defects, which a Papist cannot but naturally meet with in this *Gothick* Liturgy, in all Appearance he would not have been so lavish of his Judgment. But without making use of these just Anticipations, upon the matter in hand, let us consider a little whether the attentive Examination of the Liturgy, be not sufficient to clear these Prejudices, and oblige him to put another sense upon the Words which he hath wrested to confirm his Assertion.

The Characters we meet with in this Liturgy are these:

1. It makes a great Distinction between that which is taken with the Mouth, and that which is received by the Heart.

Pag. 150. *Grant, O Lord, that what we have taken with our Mouths, we may receive with our Minds, and that the temporal Gift may be to us an eternal Remedy.* This Observation is decretory, for the Transubstantiators own that both Good and Bad receive the Body of

Pag. 27. Christ. *Goffridus Vindocinensis* expresly asserts it, notwithstanding

ſtanding that St. *Auguſtin* has rejected it as a great Abſurdity. Tr. 26. in Joan.

2. It ſuppoſeth likewiſe that Jeſus Chriſt is above the Heavens, and that he is no otherwiſe near to us than by the Communion of our Nature which he hath taken to himſelf. Pag. 191. *Ut qui te conſortem in carnis propinquitate lætantur, ad ſummorum Civium unitatem, ſuper quos corpus aſſumptum evexiſti, perducantur:* "That they who rejoice to ſee thee their Brother, in the "Nearneſs of thy Fleſh, may be brought up to the Unity of "thoſe higheſt Citizens, above whom thou haſt carried up thy "aſſumed Body.

3. It ſuppoſeth the Sacrament to be only a Commemoration; *We remember thy Suffering, and thy Body broken for the Remiſſion of our Sins.* Pag. 192. Which is a plain Alluſion to the Words of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 11. 24. and ſhews that the Authors of this Liturgy, did underſtand them of the Croſs, and not, as the Church of *Rome* doth, of the Euchariſt. The *Ambroſian* and *Gallican* Liturgies have followed the Senſe of the *Gothick* Liturgy, which deſerves ſome Obſervation. We meet with the ſame Pag. 255. thing again: "Thou didſt command by *Moſes* and *Aaron* thy "Servants, that the Paſſover ſhould be celebrated by the offering of a Lamb for ever, until the Coming of Chriſt; and "haſt commanded the ſame Cuſtom to be obſerved for a Memorial.

4. It ſuppoſeth that we receive the Body of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually: "Let us, deareſt Brethren, who have been fed Pag. 193. "with the Food of Heaven, and refreſhed with the Cup of "the Eternal Wine, render never-ceaſing Praiſes and Thanks "to our God, begging of him that we who have ſpiritually "receiv'd the Sacred Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, being "freed from fleſhly Vices, may deſerve to be made Spiritual. What it means by the word Spiritual is very plain, where it Pag. 207. calls the Dove that appeared at the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, *Spiritalis Columba. And the ſpiritual Dove deſcending upon his* Pag. 231. *Head by the Holy Ghoſt, that cameſt thy ſelf.* Thus it calls the P. 296, & 300. Euchariſt ſpiritual Sacrifices, *He hath refreſhed us with the Heavenly Bread and the Spiritual Cup.*

5. It takes for granted, that the Believers of old did eat the same Living Bread, which Jesus Christ gives us: "For he Pag. 229. "himself is the living and true Bread that came down from "Heaven, and always dwells in Heaven, who is the Substance "of Eternity, and the Food of Power. For thy Word, by "which all things were made, is not only the Bread of hu-"mane Souls, but of the very Angels themselves. By the "Nourishment of this Bread, thy Servant *Moses* was enabled "to fast 40 Days and Nights, when he received the Law, "and abstained from carnal Food, that he might be the more "capable of tasting thy Sweetness, living on thy Word. "Let this living and true Bread which came down from "Heaven, that he might give Food to the Hungry, yea that "he himself might be the Food of the Living, become to "us such Bread as that our Hearts may be strengthned there-"by; that so in the Power of this Bread, we may be enabled "to fast these 40 Days without any impediment from Flesh and "Blood.

6. It calls the Sacrament, Gifts laid upon the Altar. "Be P. 234, & 237. "pleased to sanctify, O Lord, these Gifts which we offer up-"on thy Altar, offering immaculate Sacrifices upon the "Holy Altar. Let us beseech the Almighty through his on-"ly begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath vouch-"safed to bless and sanctify these Gifts by the offering up "of his Body and Blood, that he would be pleased also "to bless the Gifts offered by his Servants.

7. It calls the Sacrament, *Salutiferam Dominicæ immolationis effigiem, in sacrificio spiritali Christo offerente transfusam.* "The "salutiferous Representation of our Lord's offering up of "himself transfused into the spiritual Sacrifice, whereof Christ "himself is the Sacrificer or Offerer.

8. We find there a Prayer, whose Title is, A Collect for the Breaking of the Bread after Consecration. Which scarce proves, that they were persuaded that the Substance of the Bread was destroyed by the Consecration.

9. The same which in some Places it calls the Body of Christ, it elsewhere calls the Sacrament of the Body.

10. It reduceth all to the virtue of the Euchariſt. " Keep Pag. 295.
" within us, Lord, the Gift of thy Glory, and let us by the
" Virtue of the Euchariſt, which we receive, be armed againſt
" all the Pollutions of the World.

11. It ſuppoſeth that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt abides with- Ibidem.
in us, and prays that it may continue there incorruptible.
" Hear the Prayers of thy Family, Almighty God, and grant
" that theſe holy Things which we have received of thy Gift,
" we may by thy Gift keep incorrupted within us. And Pag. 298.
" again; let us with unanimous Prayer entreat the Divine
" Mercy, that theſe ſaving Sacraments being received into our
" inward Parts, may purify our Soul, and ſanctify our Body,
" and confirm our Hearts and Minds in the hope of heavenly
" Things.

12. It calls the Euchariſt *Holy Bread:* " Bearing in mind the
" moſt glorious Paſſion of our Lord, and his Reſurrection
" from the lower Parts of the Earth; We offer up unto thee,
" O Lord, this unſpotted Sacrifice, this holy Bread, and this ſa-
" ving Cup, beſeeching thee, *&c.*

13. It calls the Sacrament, *Holy Myſteries*, in ſeveral Places.

Theſe many Inſtances one would have thought might have obliged *Mabillon* to believe that the Authors of this Liturgy, did ſpeak figuratively in ſome other Places, where they ſeem to ſpeak more ſtrongly, and to give us another Notion; eſpecially conſidering the manner of their expreſſing themſelves, when they ſpeak of the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt.*
" It it worthy and juſt, equal and ſaving, for us always to give Pag. 275.
" Thanks to thee Almighty, and merciful God, and in this
" Banquet of thy Sacrament, to join the Head of thy Martyr
" by an Evangelical Commemoration, and to offer it upon thy
" Propitiatory Table, as in a Diſh of ſhining Metal. And
we may add ſeveral others upon each of thoſe Paſſages which ſeem the moſt likely to deceive us.

If we had the Canon of this Liturgy, which theſe Gentlemen did not think fit to give us, we ſhould there eaſily find the Solution of theſe Difficulties; for it is very probable, it was like that of the *Ambroſian* Liturgy, where it was ſo clear-

ly ſpecified, that the Bread was the Figure of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, as that it put an end to all manner of Cavillings on the Point. Indeed theſe Words, *The Figure or Repreſentation of the Sacrifice of our Lord*, do plainly ſhew, that this was their meaning. But we muſt make a ſhift to help our ſelves with what they have been pleaſed to give us. It is eaſy to judg what thoſe Paſſages were, which *Mabillon* judg'd to be moſt favourable to his Cauſe; for he hath caus'd them to be Printed in great Characters, that no Body might paſs them by.

Pag. 237.

Thus the word *Truth*, ſeem'd to him to determine the Queſtion of the Real Preſence; the Words are theſe: "We "beſeech thee, Almighty God, that like as we do now per- "form the Truth of the Heavenly Sacrament, ſo we may "cleave to the Truth of the Body and Blood of our Lord. But this learned *Benedictine* has ſuffer'd himſelf to be overtaken by his own Prejudice. The Author of the Liturgy diſtinguiſheth two times; the one before the Death of Jeſus Chriſt, which was only an obſcure Image of a Thing that was to come; this is that which is expreſt in theſe Words: "Or that the Living Bread, by denying of himſelf, "ſhould not afford Life; but for the Redemption of his Poſ- "ſeſſion, and the Praiſe of his Glory, what before he vouch- "ſaf'd in a Parable, he may now vouchſafe in Truth. The other, wherein the Death of Jeſus Chriſt hath authoriz'd the Signification of the Euchariſt; upon which account, he calls it *the Truth of the Heavenly Sacrament*. We have a like Expreſſion of Baptiſm, alluding to the Paſſage of the *Red-Sea*, in one of St. *Auguſtin*'s Homilies, upon *Nicodemus*'s coming to Jeſus Chriſt, related by *Paulus Diaconus*, *In inventione S. Crucis*; and 'tis the ſame we find alſo in ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Cæſarius*.

Pag. 195.

Pag. 206.

We find that the word *Transformation* has perfectly charm'd him. "We therefore, Lord, keeping theſe Inſti- "tutes and Precepts, do moſt humbly beſeech thee that thou "wouldſt be pleaſed to receive, bleſs and ſanctify this Sacri- "fice, that it may be to us a true Euchariſt, in thy own and "Son's Name, and of the Holy Ghoſt; that ſo there may be

Pag. 202.

"

" a Transformation of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, thy only Begotten, *&c.* And in a Marginal Note he obſerves, that the ſame Word is made uſe of in this Liturgy: " That it may pleaſe thee to ſend down thy Holy Spirit " upon theſe Solemnities, that it may be to us a true Eucha- " riſt, in thy own and Son's Name, and of the Holy Ghoſt, for " a Transformation of the Body and Blood of our Lord Je- " ſus Chriſt, thy only Begotten; that it may beſtow upon us, " who eat it, eternal Life, and the everlaſting Kingdom to " thoſe that ſhall drink it. And alſo, " That thy Bleſſing may " come down upon this Bread and Wine, for the Transfor- " mation of thy Holy Spirit; that bleſſing thou may'ſt bleſs " them, and ſanctifying thou may'ſt ſanctify them, *&c.* And the like in other Miſſals as antient as this; which he obſerves alſo in his Preface. Pag. 228. Pag. 285.

But this after all, ſignifies nothing elſe but the Change which the Holy Ghoſt produceth in making the Elements after Conſecration, to become the Sacrament of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. This is that which our Authors have fully juſtified by an infinite number of Examples borrowed from Baptiſm, and other things conſecrated by Prayer. *Boethius* in his Books, *De conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, ſaith, *Converſi in malitiam, humanam quoq; amiſêre naturam. Evenit ergo, ut quem transformatum vitiis videas, hominem exiſtimare non poſſis.* " Being turn'd into " Malice, they at the ſame time loſe humane Nature: So " that if you ſee one transformed by Vice, you cannot look " upon him as a Man. And *Ratramnus* in his Book of the Body and Blood of our Lord, ſaith, That Jeſus Chriſt in former times could change the Manna, and Water out of the Rock in the Wilderneſs, into his Fleſh and Blood: the ſame *Ratramnus* that oppos'd *Paſchaſius*, who was the firſt Publiſher of the Doctrine of a real Change.

We find there the Notion of *Vertere and convertere in carnem:* " Beſeeching that he who then changed the Water into Wine, " would be pleaſed now to change the Wine of our Obla- " tions into his Blood. And again, " Let us entreat him, that he " who as at this day, by his Son, turned the Species of Water " into Wine, would be pleaſed in like manner, to change " the Pag. 208. Pag. 209.

" the Oblations and Prayers of us all, into a Divine Sacrifice, " and to accept them as he did accept the Offering of *Abel* " the Juſt, and the Sacrifice of *Abraham* his Patriarch. But the appearance of this ſeeming Difficulty, we find in the following Leaf. Beſides, that it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe the real Change of the Prayers of Believers into the Body and Blood of our Saviour, which is ſuppos'd of the Oblations.

Pag. 240. We meet with an Expreſſion which ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange: " O Jeſu Chriſt, who in the Evening of the World, " waſt made an Evening-Sacrifice on the Croſs, vouchſafe to us, " that we may become new Sepulchres for thy Body. Tho indeed theſe Expreſſions plainly ſhew that they are only intended for the prefiguring the Death of Chriſt, according to the Notion of *Rabanus Maurus*.

Lib. 1. cap. 33. de inſtitut. Cleric.

We find there frequently, that the Sacrament is ſaid to be a Remedy for the Body, and an Expiation for the Soul; but this doth no more ſuppoſe the carnal Preſence, or the Expiation, which is the fruit of a Propitiatory Sacrifice, than that which we find in the *Roman Order*, in bleſſing a Grave, that it may be a ſaving Remedy to the Party reſting in it, for the Redemption of his Soul.

Pag. 207. In the ſame Liturgy, they ſay to God, " Do thou therefore " ſo come down into the preſent Oblation, that it may afford " Healing unto the Living, and Refreſhment unto thoſe who " are Dead. But this regards only the Preſence of Vertue, as in the *Roman Order*; they beg of God that he would afford his Preſence and Majeſty in Baptiſm.

Pag. 143.

There is mention likewiſe made of the Immolation of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; but this is only ſaid by way of Reſemblance, as St. *Auguſtin* explains it in his 23*d* Epiſtle to *Bonifacius*; for in other places this Liturgy ſpeaks of Bread offered up.

There is alſo mention made of a Sacrifice. But 1*ſt*, He gives that Name to the Euchariſt, which every-where throughout this Liturgy, is termed a Sacrifice of Praiſes and Thankſgivings. 2*ly*, It compares the Sacrifice with that of *Melchizedeck*, wherein every one knows, there was nothing of Tranſubſtantiation. This is that which *Rabanus* explains, *Lib.* 1. *de inſtit. clericor. cap.* 31.

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Mabillon particularly triumphs, when he takes notice of a Paſſage which is found in the *78th* Office. " He offer'd up " himſelf firſt to thee a Sacrifice, and firſt taught himſelf to " be offer'd. Theſe words, *offer'd up himſelf*, ſeem to him to be applicable to the Act of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt: but he muſt not take it ill, if we tell him, that it is not true, that he then offer'd up any Sacrifice: the Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt conſiſting only in his Death on the Croſs; the Euchariſt, where he had only his Death before his Eyes, was only the Memorial of his Sacrifice, his Offering conſiſting only in his Death. If he did offer up himſelf in the Euchariſt, then was he already dead, which is a Notion attributed to *Gregory Niſſen*, but is refuted by the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, as impertinent.

Some it may be will imagine, that the Authors of the *Gothick* Liturgy, take away all Equivocation, when they ſay; " Let us receive that in the Wine which flow'd from " thee on the Croſs. But indeed, here we have reaſon to admire how far ſtrong Prejudices will carry Men, ſo as even to hinder common Senſe from acting; for really there can be no Notion more oppoſite to Tranſubſtantiation: ſince this Notion repreſents the State in which Chriſt was given to us, that is, a State of Death, which is contrary to the Popiſh Notions, by which they believe him alive in the Euchariſt. Beſides, it is abſolutely falſe, that Jeſus Chriſt did after his Reſurrection, retake the ſame Blood which he loſt on the Croſs. The Church of *Rome* pretends that ſhe hath it in her keeping, and it is ſhown in I don't know how many places. This Expreſſion, is well known to be St. *Auguſtin*'s, whoſe Doctrine is vaſtly oppoſite to that of Tranſubſtantiation, as *De Marca* hath been forc'd to acknowledg. Pag. 300.

This is what I thought might be obſerv'd concerning this *Gothick* Liturgy, which was uſed amongſt the *Viſi-goths*, and which mentions no Saint of later ſtanding than St. *Leodegarius*, who died in the year *677*. Now becauſe Pope *Adrian* the Firſt, engaged *Charlemain* to aboliſh the *Gallican* Liturgy, which was very different from the *Roman*, endeavouring

deavouring by this means to subject the *Gallican* Churches to himself, under the plausible pretence of making them more uniform with the Church of *Rome*; *Gregory* VII*th*, undertook to suppress the *Gothick* Liturgy, which was not less but rather more different; because the Popes after *Adrian* I. had made great Changes in the *Roman* Liturgy, and had enrich'd it with many Novelties, which the Ages after *Gregory* the First, had produc'd in Religion. However it be, thus much is evident from what I have observed at the beginning of this Chapter, that in the VII*th* Century in which this Liturgy was in use in these Dioceses, there was nothing less known than the *Romish* Religion, as it concerns those Articles which the *Protestants* reject as Novelties. But let us proceed to take a view of the State of these Dioceses in the 8*th* Century.

CHAP. VIII.

The Opinion of the Churches of Aquitain *and* Narbon *in the Eighth Century.*

THere was no part of *Gaul* so shaken and laid waste by the Wars, as *Aquitain* and *Gallia Narbonensis* were in the 8*th* Century: Though all *France* suffer'd in some measure, yet these two Provinces were, during a long series of Years, the Theatre of War and Calamity. However, we may say that these Mishaps serv'd only to awaken the Zeal of these People, and to make them the more sensible of the Aversion they ought to have to the Idolatry which reigned in the East; and which it seems God was willing to punish with the Scourge of the *Saracens*, the great Enemies of Images and Idolatry. For not only did the Bishops of these Dioceses preserve their Purity in the Faith, which they made appear at the end of this Century, by their opposing the Opinions of *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel*, and of *Elippandus* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, who revived *Nestor*

Neſtorianiſm; but they alſo gave a publick Teſtimony of their Averſion to the worſhipping of Images, which the Popes aſſerted in Conjunction with thoſe of the Eaſt.

The Judgment of theſe Dioceſſes concerning Images appear'd in Publick, when their Deputies aſſiſted at the Council of *Francfort*, which condemned the 2*d* Council of *Nice*, notwithſtanding that it had been approved by the Pope. The 2*d* Council of *Nice* had in the year 787, ordain'd the Adoration of Images, under the Penalty of being Anathematiz'd. The Eaſt was entirely over-run with this Superſtition; and what we have already ſeen of *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeille*, makes it evident, that it had likewiſe made great Progreſs in the Weſt. *Charlemain* and the whole Body of the Weſtern Churches, if we except *Rome* and ſome Partiſans of the Pope in *Italy*, were deſirous to ſtop this torrent: *England* condemned the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council, and cenſured them by the Pen of the famous *Alcuin*. His Writings were ſubſcribed by all the Biſhops of *England*, and ſent to *Charlemain*. This great Emperor thereupon, in the year 794, aſſembled at *Francfort* a Council of the Biſhops under his Government; that is, thoſe of *Italy*, *Aquitain*, and *Provence*, as well to condemn *Elipandus* Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, and *Felix* Biſhop of *Urgel*, as to make an enquiry into the Acts of the 2*d* Council of *Nice*. They were examin'd in preſence of the Pope's Legats. And this Council finding that the 2*d* Council of *Nice* had Anathematized all thoſe who refuſed to render to the Images of the Saints, the Worſhip and Adoration which are only due to the Trinity; ſhe denied the Service and Adoration of Images, deſpiſed the *Nicene* Acts, and condemned thoſe who received them.

Now that we may exactly know the Opinions which obtain'd in theſe Dioceſſes, whoſe Biſhops approved the Book of *Charlemain*; the Reader needs only conſider carefully the Poſitions of *Charlemain* againſt ſeveral Opinions which have ſince prevailed in the Church of *Rome*.

1. In his Preface, he expreſly rejects Traditions; when he ſaith, " That as for themſelves, they were content with Pro-" phetical, Evangelical and Apoſtolick Writings.

Lib. 1. cap. 13. pag. 84. 2. He maintains; "That we are principally to believe the "truth of the *Hebrew* Original; *Hebræa veritati potiſſimum fides adhibenda eſt.* Thus he expreſſeth himſelf by way of oppoſition to Tranſlations, and the vulgar Latin in particular.

Pag. 32. 3. He lays it down for a Rule, that God alone is the lawful Object of religious Worſhip. "It is no ſmall Error to "ſerve any thing with religious Worſhip beſides him who "ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only "ſhalt thou ſerve.* And he repeats this afterwards; Nei-
Lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. 184. "ther do we read that any thing is to be worſhipped be-"ſides God; becauſe it is written, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the "Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

4. Would we know his Opinion concerning the Worſhip which at this day is given to Angels and Saints? We may find it, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. *p.* 69. "Moreover, ſaith he, for as much as "we ſee that *John* in the Revelation is reſtrain'd by the An-"gel from worſhipping him; and that *Peter* the Paſtor of the "Church forbad the Worſhip of the Centurion; and that "the choſen Veſſel, together with *Barnabas*, with a ſtrong "Oppoſition, rejected the Adorations of the *Lycaonians*; we "are without doubt to conclude from theſe Examples, that "Adoration, which only belongs to God, who alone is to be "worſhipp'd and alone to be ſerv'd, is not to be rendred to "any Creature whatſoever, except only by way of Salutа-
Lib. 6. cap. 25. pag. 227. "tion, to expreſs our Humility. So afterwards; "The "Goſpel-Rule of the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apo-"ſtles, which is ſometimes recommended to us in the Words "of our Lord himſelf, and ſometimes by Examples, ſome-"times is repreſented to us by Oracles either more obſcure, "or more plain and open; ſometimes is taught in plain, and "other-times in figurative Expreſſions, rejecting the Adorati-"on of all other things whatſoever, ſave only the Adoration "whereby we mutually ſalute one another, enjoins the Ado-
Pag. 228 "ration of God alone. And again; "Neither Men nor An-"gels are in the leaſt to be ador'd, ſave only by that Ado-"ration which is given to expreſs our Charity, and as a "Salutation.

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5. He diſtinguiſheth very well between the Honour we give to Saints, and that which we render to God, when he ſaith; "God alone is to be worſhipp'd, God alone is to be adored, God alone is to be glorified; of whom it is ſaid by the Prophet, The Name of him alone is exalted; and to the Saints, who having triumphed over the Devil, do reign with him, Veneration is to be rendred, either becauſe they have fought couragiouſly for the Preſervation of the State of the Church, or becauſe they are known to aſſiſt it with their continual Patronage and Interceſſion. So likewiſe, We venerate the Saints who are dead with the triumph of Merits, but they are not to be ador'd with Divine Worſhip, for that very reaſon, becauſe it is Divine Worſhip. Seeing therefore, ſaith he, that God alone is to be worſhipp'd, the Martyrs and all other Saints are rather to be venerated than worſhipped, as we have ſaid before in this Book. And the ſame thing we meet with alſo, *cap.* 28. towards the end. Lib. 2. cap. 21. pag. 218. Lib. 4. cap. 23. Lib. 4. cap. *ult.* Pag. 248.

6. It appears clearly from what he ſaith concerning the means whereby we obtain Remiſſion of Sins, that he own'd no other Sacraments of the Church beſides Baptiſm and the Euchariſt; for indeed he mentions only theſe two. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

7. He was ſo far from owning either the Infallibility of the Pope, or of a Council which the Pope hath approved, that he maintains it was a piece of Folly to look upon the 2*d* Council of *Nice* as univerſal, and calls it a Council of one Part of the Church only; and he afterwards cenſures the Fathers of that Council for giving it the Title of Univerſal, whereas it had been conven'd, without the Participation and Conſent of many Catholick Churches. This Remark made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Learned Jeſuit *Sirmondus*, that he ſeems not to own the ſecond Council of *Nice* as a general Council. Lib. 3. cap. 11. pag. 340. Pag. 340. *T.* 2. Concil. Gall. pag. 91.

8. The Fathers of the ſecond *Nicene* Council having made a Compariſon between the Euchariſt and Images, and uſed theſe following Expreſſions, which are not to be found at preſent in the Copies of that Council: *As the Body of our Saviour paſſeth from the Fruits of the Earth, into an excellent Myſtery; ſo*

Images formed by the Industry of Artificers, pass to the Veneration of those Persons, according to whose Likeness they have been wrought. *Charlemain* doth censure those who had made a Parallel between Images and the Eucharist, in such a manner as shews that he knew nothing of *Romish* Transubstantiation. He saith, "That "the Eucharist is made by the Hand of the Priest, and by "calling upon the Name of God, both Priest and People "joining their Prayers in the Consecration thereof; whereas "Images stand in no need of Consecration, but are made at "the Discretion of the Painter. He saith that *Melchizedeck* "did not present an Image as a Type of the Body and Blood, "but Bread and Wine: that *Moses* commanded a Lamb to be "eaten as a Type of our Saviour, wholly rejecting the Custom "of worshipping Images. That the Psalmist who sang that "Men should eat the Bread of Angels, that is, Jesus Christ, "hath also declared, that the Makers of Images are like unto "the Images they have made. That the Sacrament is of Di-"vine Institution; whereas the insolent Use of Images, is not "only without Scripture, but also directly contrary to the "Writings of the Old and New Testament. That our Savi-"our never instituted the Memory of his Suffering to be kept "up by the Works of Artificers and worldly Arts, but by "the Consecration of his Body and Blood: that he was not "willing that his Faith and his Confession should be expres's'd "by Pictures, but by the Mouth and the Heart.

We are carefully to take notice, that the Authors of this Book, who desired to exalt the Sacrament of the Eucharist with all their Might, never give the least hint that Jesus Christ had instituted it, to make it an Object of Adoration. "They say "that the Eucharist, according to the Judgment of St. *Paul*, is "preferable almost to every other Sacrament; that it is made "invisibly by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the Priest, "who calls upon God; that it is carried by the Hands of An-"gels, and laid upon the Altar of God in Heaven; that it "can neither increase nor be diminished; that it is confirm-"ed by the Old and New Testament; that it is the Life "and Nourishment of Souls, that by its Manducation it "leads to the Entrance of the Heavenly Kingdom; that it

"can

" can never be aboliſhed, no not in the time of Perſecution;
" and that no body can be ſaved without receiving of it.
" Whereas Images are viſibly made by the Hand of the Work-
" man, painted by the Art of the Painter, placed on the Walls
" by the Hands of Men, that by them, if Men inconſiderate-
" ly abuſe them, Sins are increaſed; that they can increaſe
" and diminiſh in Beauty, according to the Ability of the
" Workman; that Age ſpoils them; that they only feed the
" Eye; that they only bring to remembrance things paſt, by
" looking upon them; that they may be ſpoiled by taking
" wet; that they who keep to the true Faith are ſaved, with-
" out having any Regard to Images. And to exaggerate the
" Folly of their Anathema's pronounced againſt thoſe that
" did not worſhip them, they conclude that this Anathema
" ſtrikes at the Saints of old, of whom we never read that
" they adored them; that the ſame was levell'd at the Martyrs,
" who from the Baptiſmal Font paſſed immediately to the
" Kingdom of Heaven, without any Adoration of Images;
" and laſtly, that it is darted againſt little Infants, who cannot
" worſhip them, and of whom notwithſtanding, the Son of
" God ſaith, *Suffer little Children to come to me*, &c. I own
that *Charlemain* cenſureth *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſaria*, for giving to the Euchariſt the Name of the true Image of Jeſus Chriſt: For after having made out, that no Artificer can form a true Image of Jeſus Chriſt; he adds, when he ſpeaks of the Euchariſt; " That Jeſus Chriſt did not offer up to God the
" Father for us in Sacrifice, any Image or Prototype but him-
" ſelf; and that he who of old had been foretold by viſible
" Reſemblances under the Shadow of the Law, in the Immo-
" lation of the Lamb, and in ſome other things, as being the
" Sacrifice that was to be offered, by truly accompliſhing the
" things that had been propheſied of him in the Oracles of the
" Prophets, did offer up himſelf to God the Father, for a ſa-
" ving Sacrifice, and beſtowed upon us (the Shadows of the
" Law being paſt away) not ſome imaginary Sign, but the Sa-
" crament of his Body and of his Blood. For the Myſtery of
" the Blood and Body of our Lord, muſt not now be called
" an Image, but the Truth; not the Shadow, but the Body;

" not

" not a Type of things to come, but that which had been pre-
" figured by the Types of old: For now (according to the
" Song of Songs) the Day is risen, and the Shadows are gone;
" now Jesus Christ, the End of the Law for Righteousness to
" every one that believes, is come, he hath now fully ac-
" complished the Law. Now upon those who sat in the Re-
" gion of the Shadow of Death, a great Light is risen. Now
" the Vail is taken off from the Face of *Moses*; and the Vail of
" the Temple being rent, hath opened to us all Secrets and
" Things hid. Now the true *Melchizedeck*, Christ the King of
" Righteousness and King of Peace, hath bestowed upon us
" not Sacrifices of Beasts, but the Sacrament of his Body and
" of his Blood, and hath not said, This is the Image of my
" Body and of my Blood; but, This is my Body which shall
" be given for you, and this is my Blood which shall be shed
" for many for the Remission of Sins.

But it is plain that *Charlemain* understands by the Word Image, a Prototype, like the Shadows of the Law, with respect to which it is true, what many of the Fathers have said, that the Sacraments of the New Testament are the Body and the Truth; though otherwise considered as Sacraments, they are sacred Signs, which cannot be confounded with the things signified by them, without renouncing the Light of common sense. Moreover, we are to observe that *Charlemain* never said that the Eucharist is properly the Body of Jesus Christ. If he denies Jesus Christ to have said concerning the Eucharist, this is the Image of my Body, taking the Word as a Prototype, and a Shadow of things to come; yet he always holds that it is his Body in a Sacramental Sense, for he never speaks of the Eucharist as the Body of our Lord, without adding the Restriction of Sacrament, or of Mystery. *If*, saith he, *he hears the Mystery of the Body and of the Blood*, once mentioned, and twice together, *he hath bestowed upon us the Sacrament of his Body and of his Blood*: And lastly, *the Mystery of the Body and of the Blood, cannot be called an Image.* Now the Word *Mystery*, according to the constant Use of the Church, properly signifies the *Symbol*, the *Figure*, the *sacred Sign* of the Body and Blood of our Saviour.

Lastly;

Laſtly; We ought to obſerve, that though he ſays that the Sacrament is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, yet he never ſaith that it ought to be adored. Indeed he ought to have drawn up an Impeachment againſt theſe Worſhippers of Images, upon this Article, and a very important one too, becauſe it is very evident that the *Greek* Worſhippers of Images did not adore the Euchariſt, but gave only a ſimple Veneration to it, like to that which they beſtowed upon the Croſs, the Altar and the Goſpel, as one of their Authors tells us, in a Book which they call, *An Invective of the Orthodox againſt the Oppoſers of Images*, printed at the *Louvre* in 1685. in the Collection of Authors, who have writ ſince *Theophanes*. *Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p.* 309.

CHAP. IX.

The Faith of the Churches of Aquitain *and* Narbon, *in the Ninth Century.*

Charlemain, that great Man, who lived till the Year 814. maintained the Spirit of Oppoſition againſt the Errors and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, that eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Image-Worſhippers, by approving the ſecond Council of *Nice*. This Council having eſtabliſhed the Authority of Tradition, as being a neceſſary Principle to ſupport the Worſhip of Images; we find that the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, kept themſelves firmly to the Authority of the Scriptures, grounding their Faith thereon, and regulating their Worſhip according to the ſame.

Of this we have an illuſtrious Example in the Council of *Arles*, aſſembled in the Year 813, by the Order of *Charlemain*, whereat the Arch-biſhop of *Narbon* aſſiſted with his Suffragans. For the Fathers of this Council thought fit to begin it with a Profeſſion of their Faith, which is nothing but an Extract of that Creed, which bears the Name of *Athanaſius*, and

and this is that which they ordain ſhould be preached to the People for the Catholick Faith, without ſo much as mentioning one Word of thoſe Articles of Faith that the Church of *Rome* now impoſeth.

Charlemain had ordered a Collection of Homilies to be made out of the Works of *Origen*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Leo*, St. *Maximus*, St. *Gregory* and *Bede*, which he cauſed to be publiſhed in theſe Dioceſſes, as well as the reſt of his Empire; now theſe Homilies do ſo ſtrongly oppoſe the moſt part of thoſe Novelties, which were then endeavoured to be introduced, that this Book for a long time ſerved as a Bar, to hinder People from leaning too much towards thoſe things that incline Men to Superſtition. There is no *Proteſtant* in the leaſt verſed in the Matters of Controverſy, who ſeeing the Names of thoſe ancient Doctors comprized in this Collection, will not remember how much theſe Fathers have oppoſed themſelves to a Multitude of Corruptions which prevailed at laſt, by the factious Endeavours of ſome of the latter Popes; wherefore I may excuſe my ſelf from making an Extract of this Collection, chooſing rather to produce other Witneſſes, which the ſame Dioceſs affords us concerning the Faith of theſe Dioceſſes in the ninth Century.

I can only produce three or four; but to recompenſe the ſmallneſs of their Number, they are Men againſt whoſe Authority the moſt contentious Adverſaries will have nothing to oppoſe. In the firſt place it is certain, that as the Biſhops of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* had ſet themſelves againſt the Superſtition and Idolatry of the *Greeks* and the Pope in the matter of Images at the Council of *Francfort*; ſo their Succeſſors imitated their Zeal and Vigor in the Synod at *Paris* in 824, upon the ſame Queſtion; where they determin'd that Pope *Adrian*, who had writ an Anſwer to the Book of *Charlemain*, and therein undertaken the Defence of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, had made uſe of in the ſaid Reply, *ſuperſtitious Teſtimonies, and not at all to the purpoſe, anſwering what he thought fit, and not what was agreeable*. And beſides they drew up a new Collection of great Numbers of Arguments againſt this ſuperſtitious Worſhip, to recal Pope *Paſchal* and thoſe of his Party from their doating on Images.

We

We can ſhew further, that the ſame Zeal was continued in this Dioceſs. *Baluzius* hath acknowledged, and ſo has *Maſſonius* before him, that the Book of *Agobardus* Arch-biſhop of *Lions*, concerning Pictures, expreſſeth no more than the general Opinions of the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany*, concerning this Point. But it may not be amiſs to quote it in particular, not only to ſhew what were the Opinions of the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* (becauſe though he was born in *Spain*, yet he had continued for a long time in *Aquitain*, whither he was invited, becauſe of the general Eſteem he had gained, to be the Coadjutor to *Leidradus* Arch-biſhop of *Lions*, to whom he ſucceeded;) but alſo becauſe it appears by his Works, that the moſt illuſtrious Biſhops of *Gallia Narbonenſis* carefully conſulted him in Matters of Difficulty, as their Maſter, being indeed a moſt famous Doctor, able to inſtruct and inform them.

1. He declares, as St. *Auguſtin* did before him, that we can never equalize the Authority of any Interpreter whatſoever, to that of the Apoſtles: *Concerning Expoſitors alſo St.* Auſtin *hath delivered*; "That we are to hold far otherwiſe than you "do, whom not only in his Book, which he hath writ againſt "*Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, concerning thoſe who have been blamed "by the Doctors, yea the beſt of them, ſpeaks thus; which "ſort of Writings, that is to ſay Expoſitions, are not to be "read with a Neceſſity of believing, but with a Liberty of "judging; for thoſe Books only, that are of Divine Authority, are to be read not with a Liberty of judging, but with "a neceſſity of believing, which form the Apoſtle himſelf delivered, ſaying, *Quench not the Spirit, deſpiſe not Prophecies, try all things, hold faſt what is good, abſtain from every Appearance of Evil.* Which is abſolutely falſe, if an infallible Principle has continued in the Church; whether in the Perſon of the Pope, or in Councils, or that we muſt of Neceſſity explain Scripture according to the Senſe of the Fathers, as the Church of *Rome* has defined. *T. 9. B. P. Paris.* pag. 1245.

2. We ſee with what force he maintains the Canons of the *Gallican* Church, againſt the Contempt which ſome caſt upon them, becauſe they had been made without the Pope's Concurrence. Epiſt. ad Imperat. p. 1222.

3. We do not find, that in his time, they applied to the Bleſſed Virgin the Words of the firſt Promiſe, by reading, *Ipſa tuum* Pag. 1183. *conteret caput*, She ſhall bruiſe thy Head; for he reads, *Ipſe tuum*, He ſhall bruiſe, *&c.* when he diſputes againſt *Felix* Biſhop of *Urgel*.

4. He maintains in the ſame place, that the Notion of a Peoples being without Sin, who yet confeſs themſelves to be Sinners Pag. 1243. out of Humility, is pure *Pelagianiſm*. " That if this is the " Property of humble Saints, why then doth *John* the Apoſtle " ſay, *If we ſay that we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves, and* " *the Truth is not in us; but if we confeſs our Sins, he is faithful* " *and juſt to forgive us our Sins?* Who if like you, he had been " inclined to have not mean, but great Thoughts of himſelf; " he had whereof he might glory, becauſe he lay in the Boſom " of his Lord, and was beloved of him above the reſt of his " Diſciples. *James* the Apoſtle alſo ſaith, *In many things we* " *offend all*; which if any ſhall imagine not to be ſpoke in " Truth, but by way of Humility, let him know that therein " he follows *Pelagius*.

5. He plainly declares that our Communion in the Sacrament is the ſame with that of the Believers of old, when he applies that Paſſage of the *1ſt* to the *Corinthians*, *chap.* 10. *ver.* 1, and 2. of the drinking of the Holy Ghoſt, and maintains in theſe terms that there is no other Difference between Pag. 1250. the Believers of the Old and New Teſtament, but this, " That " the great Sacraments of Salvation which are wrought by the " Mediator for us and for them, ſave us as being already paſt, " but them as yet to come, becauſe we believe and hold what " is paſt, they believed and held what was to come; they held " them only in their Minds, as Figures of future things, but " we in an open Profeſſion, Vows and Declaration of things " paſt, under the Signification of ſenſible Sacraments, as " thoſe two who carried one Cluſter of Grapes upon a Staff, " did indifferently do the ſame Work, only that the one of " them had it behind his Back, and the other before his Face.

I ſhould be obliged to tranſcribe his whole Book againſt Pictures and Images, if I ſhould go about to extract all that it contains in Oppoſition to the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*.

It

It will be ſufficient for us to obſerve, that the *Romiſh Index Expurgatorius*, hath forbid this Book, as well as the reſt, till its Errors be expunged: and indeed it did deſerve no leſs; for it maintains, according to the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtin*, that we ought not to adore any Image of God, but only that which is God himſelf, even his eternal Son; and that it is a piece of Folly and Sacrilege, to vouchſafe any Worſhip to Images, and to call them Holy, as the ſecond Council of *Nice* had done. He refutes the Excuſe of the Council of *Trent*, which only conſiders thoſe as Idolaters, that attribute ſomething of Divinity to the Image. He maintains it to be mere Paganiſm to have Images for any other uſe than that of a Memorial; and at the ſame time aſſerts, that Images are of as little Uſe and Advantage as the Picture of a Mower, or of ſome Hero in Armour, can advantage a Mower or Souldier, who looks upon thoſe Pictures. In a Word, he ſpeaks exactly like a true *Iconoclaſt*; for after he had ſaid, that it was impoſſible any longer to bear with the Abuſes againſt which he had taken Pen in hand, he adds: "From whence we may plainly infer, that "if *Hezekiah*, a Godly and Religious King, brake the brazen "Serpent, made by God's expreſs Command, becauſe the "miſtaken Multitude began to worſhip it as an Idol, for which "his Piety was very much commended; much more religi-"ouſly may and ought the Images of the Saints (they themſelves approving it) be broken and ground to Pouder, which "were never ſet up by God's Command, but are abſolutely "human Inventions.

But beſides this, there are four other Articles, which are as diſreliſhing to the Church of *Rome* as theſe:

1. He maintains that there is no other Mediator between God and Men, ſave Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, which he proves by the Authority of St. *Auguſtin*, *de Civ. Dei*, l. 9. c. 15. Pag. 1267.

2. He looks upon thoſe as worthy to be anathematized and excommunicated from the Church of God, who ſhould undertake to dedicate a Church to the moſt excellent of Saints or Angels. "If any of us, ſaith he, ſhould make a Temple of "Wood or Stone to any, though the moſt excellent of Saints, "we ought for doing that to be anathematized from the Truth Pag. 1272.

" of Christ, and from the Church of God, because by so do-
" ing we should give that Worship to the Creature, which is
" only due to the Creator.

3. Having given a Relation of the manner how the Faithful gathered up the Bones of St. *Polycarp*, and interr'd them in a place where they intended to meet and celebrate his Memory, to encourage Believers to imitate the constancy of that Martyr; he declares that all manner of Worship or Honour done to them over and above this, is unlawful, religious Worship being due to God alone.

Pag. 1275.

4. He proves that his Judgment concerning these Points is founded upon the Example of the antient Doctors, up-their Opinions, and upon the Book of the Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, that it was the ground of the antient Doctors of the Church, who rejected the Worship which the *Arians* gave to Jesus Christ as idolatrous, tho they owned him to be no more than a Man.

Pag. 1281, & 1282.

The Reader needs not take much pains to apprehend why *Rome* thought fit to condemn these Books of *Agobardus*; tho he may be at a loss, how it comes to pass, that notwithstanding all this, he is at this day held for a Saint, and publickly ador'd at *Lions* under the Name of St. *Agobo*. This is a Riddle which has strangly perplexed the Learned Jesuit, *Theophilus Raynaldus*, as well as *le Cointe*, in his Annals of the Church of *France*. But he is not the only Person that has oppos'd the Belief and Worship of the Church of *Rome*, and is publickly ador'd by her.

I have another Author to produce, who gives us so clear an Idea of the belief of this Dioceſs, wherein he was born, concerning the Eucharist, that the Papists have never been able to return any pertinent Answer to it, save only this, that the Passage we quote is suppositititious. The Person we speak of, is *Christianus Druthmarus*, Monk of *Corbie*, whom it seems God was willing to oppose to the corrupt Notions of *Paschasius Radbertus*, his Abbot. The Passage is this, [*And as they were at supper, Jesus took Bread, and blessed it and brake it.*] " After that
" he had fulfilled the Command concerning the old Passover,
" and put an end to the old Shadows, he makes a beginning of
" new

" new Grace, and of a new Sacrifice. He took Bread which
" ſtrengthens the Heart of Man, and which doth moſt of all
" ſupport Mens Bodies, and in it placeth the Sacrament of his
" Love: but much more doth that ſpiritual Bread fully
" ſtrengthen and comfort all ſorts of Creatures; becauſe in
" him we move and have our Being: Firſt, he bleſſed it, be-
" cauſe in himſelf *who was Man*, he bleſſed all Mankind; for
" having taken humane Nature upon him from the Bleſſed
" Virgin, he thereby demonſtrated that the Bleſſing and Po-
" wer of the Divine Immortality, was really therein. He
" brake the Bread himſelf, becauſe he voluntarily offer'd up
" himſelf to ſuffer; and that he might fill and ſatisfy us, he
" made no difficulty to break the Manſion of his Soul, as him-
" ſelf ſaid: I have Power to lay down my Life, and have
" Power to take it up again. [*And gave it to his Diſciples, and
" ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body.*] He gave to his Diſciples the
" Sacrament of his Body for the Remiſſion of Sins, and Pre-
" ſervation of Charity, that they remembring this Act of his,
" might always perform that in a Figure, which he was now
" about to do for them, and might not forget that, *This is
" my Body*, that is in the Sacrament. [*And he took the Cup, and
" gave Thanks, and gave it to them, ſaying;*] Foraſmuch as a-
" mongſt all ſorts of Food, Bread and Wine are found to be
" the moſt effectual to ſtrengthen, and refreſh our weak Bo-
" dies; he with good reaſon thought fit by theſe two, to ra-
" tify and confirm the Miniſtry of his Sacrament; for Wine
" not only exhilarates, but alſo encreaſes Blood, and therefore
" is the Blood of Chriſt very properly typified thereby; be-
" cauſe whatſoever comes to us from him, doth enliven us
" with a true Joy, and encreaſeth all our good. And laſtly,
" As when a Perſon that is to take a far Journey, leaves to
" his Friends that love him, ſome Pledg or Token of his Love
" upon this Condition, that they uſe it every day, that they
" may not forget him: So likewiſe hath God commanded
" us, having ſpiritually changed his Body into Bread, and
" the Wine into Blood, by theſe two, to remember what he
" hath done for us with his Body and Blood, and not to
" be unthankful to his moſt endearing Love and Charity.

" And

" And becauſe Water is mingled with the Sacrament of his " Blood, it repreſents his People, for whom he was pleaſed " to die. And neither is the Wine without Water, nor the " Water without Wine; becauſe as he died for us, ſo muſt " we die for him, or for our Brethren, that is, for the Church. " Wherefore alſo Water and Blood came forth from his Bo- " dy. And whereas he ſaith, *This is my Blood of the New Teſta-* " *ment*; this is added in contradiſtinction to that of the Old " Teſtament, which by the Blood of Goats, could not " purge away Sin from thoſe who were ſtill in bondage to " Sin. [*But I ſay unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this Fruit* " *of the Vine, until that day when I ſhall drink it new with you in* " *my Father's Kingdom.*] The Vine is *Judæa*, the Wine that of " the Patriarchs, Prophets, and other Elect. For till that " time, *Judæa* had brought forth Cluſters of Grapes, from " whence Wine flowed forth, that is, Works done in Faith; " but from the Death of our Lord wild Grapes only, until the " time that *Enoch* and *Elias* ſhall carry them up into the " Kingdom, that is, the Church of Chriſt, at the end of the " World. Or elſe more ſimply the Words may be thus " taken, That from the hour of his ſupping with his Diſciples, " he would drink no more Wine, until he was become im- " mortal and incorruptible after his Reſurrection. Where- " as alſo he was pleaſed not to adminiſter the Sacrament of his " Body and Blood to his Diſciples till after they had ſupp'd, " and that we are not commanded to take it Faſting; this " may be the reaſon, the Lord had a mind to ſhew that " the figurative Teſtament was only commanded till the " true was come, and he had now put an end to the Old " Teſtament, and inſtituted a New One, and therefore it " was that he celebrated the Old before the New. The " Apoſtles alſo for a long time continued the ſame Cuſtom, " and after their other Food, took this by the Lord's Ap- " pointment; but afterwards when many Jews came to com- " municate, it was enjoined in a Synod, that every one (if he " was cleanſed from other Sins) ſhould firſt take the Repaſt " of Spiritual Bread, before he took that of the Tem- " poral.

This

This place, which contains an exact Commentary upon the Inſtitution of the Holy Supper, has much enrag'd the Papiſts; and they have wreſted it into all Senſes, to avoid the threatning Blow. *Sixtus Senenſis* tells us, that in another Copy, after the words, *This is my Body*, *that is in a Sacrament*, was added, *truly ſubſiſting*. But this Copy was never yet produc'd, though they who reprinted the Work of *Druthmarus* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of the *Cologne* Edition, have been pleas'd to put this Falſification of *Sixtus Senenſis* in the Margent.

Cardinal *Perron*, who was as able as any Man of *France* to juſtify the fair dealing of *Sixtus Senenſis* in the buſineſs of this Manuſcript of *Lions*, but did not care to concern himſelf about it, hath boldly maintained, that he might with the more eaſe ſlip his Neck out of the Collar, that this Paſſage of *Druthmarus* had been corrupted by the *Proteſtants*. But it hath already ſhewn, that the Edition publiſhed in 1514, by *Wimfelingius*, before *Luther* begun to write againſt *Leo* X. of which the Reverend Dr. *Teniſon* hath a Copy in his Library, with the Privilege of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Arms of Pope *Leo* X. contains this Paſſage whole and entire. So that it is obvious to judge, that *Druthmarus* who was born in *Aquitain*, taught nothing at *Corbie*, but what he had learned from his Infancy, and that which was the common Doctrine, before *Paſchaſius* had undertaken to publiſh his Extravagancies, which he did not till the year of our Lord 835.

We ought alſo here, to take notice of an Action that happened in this Century concerning the Euchariſt. In the year 844, *Bernard* Earl of *Barcelona* and Duke of *Septimania*, made a Treaty with King *Charles* the *Bald*, near the City of *Tholouſe* in the Abby of St. *Saturninus*, where they mingled the Blood of the Euchariſt with ſome Ink, to ſign the Treaty they had agreed upon. The thing has been publiſhed by the famous *Baluzius*, in his Notes upon *Agobardus*, and is lately reprinted by the ſame Author. The words of *Odo Aripertus*, who relates the matter, tranſlated, run thus: "The Peace therefore "being ſeverally ratified and ſealed by the King and Earl "with the Blood of the Euchariſt; *Bernard* Count of *Tholouſe*, "came

Marcæ Hiſpan. Lib. 4. pag. 533, & 534.

" came from *Barcelona* to *Tholouſe*, and did Homage to King " *Charles* in the Abby of St. *Saturninus* near *Tholouſe*.

De Re Diplom. L. 2. c. 22. §. 21.

Mabillon acknowledges that this was not a Fact without Example. Now let any Man imagine if he can, whether People that believe Tranſubſtantiation, would ever have been capable of ſuch a Profanation of the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, or whether the Monks, in whoſe Abby the thing was done, would ever have ſuffer'd it, had the thing appear'd as horrible unto them, as it muſt of neceſſity appear to thoſe who defend the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*.

I ſhall conclude this Chapter, with giving an account of that courageous Oppoſition which the Biſhops of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* made in the year 876, in the Council of *Pontyon*, againſt the Enterprizes of Pope *John* VIII; who being back'd by the Emperor *Charles* the *Bald*, had a mind to ſubject all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany* to *Anſegiſus*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, as their Primate; but at the ſame time as to his Vicar, that he might execute his Decrees, and inform him of the moſt important Affairs of thoſe Churches, which he pretended, ought to be decided and ended at *Rome*, which if ſo, would have aboliſhed the Power of Synods and Metropolitans. This was in a manner the laſt conſiderable Effort they ever made, to preſerve their antient Diſcipline; for ſoon after the Popes knew to manage the Kings, that ſtood in need of them in *Italy*, ſo well, that by little and little they at laſt gained the Point, and ſo made themſelves abſolute, the Synods and Metropolitans retaining only an empty Name, without almoſt any Authority at all.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Tenth Century.

WE are now come to the Tenth Century, in which Ignorance and Barbariſm overwhelm'd well nigh all the Weſt; and the Church of *Rome* fell at the ſame time into ſuch monſtrous Corruptions, that thoſe who have wrote the Hiſtory thereof, do not mention it without Horror. I don't intend to make any ſtop here, in alledging Proofs for what I ſay, from the concurrent Teſtimonies of *Genebrard*, *Baronius*, and other Doctors of the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis a thing not deny'd by any one, that hath ever heard ſpeak of the Hiſtory of the Church; and hath been particularly ſet forth by *Gerbertus* Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who was afterwards advanced to the Papacy.

But yet in the mean time, whatever the Corruption may have been, which was ſcatter'd elſewhere; we have good ground to believe, that it had not quite ſtifled the antient Doctrine and Religion of theſe Dioceſſes, which may be eaſily made out by the following Obſervations.

1. I own that we find in the Writings of *Odo*, the firſt Abbot of *Clugny*, who was born in *Aquitain*, ſome Expreſſions which import that he inclin'd to the Opinions of *Paſchaſius*, as appears in his Collations; which might make one judg that this Notion began then already to be propagated in *Aquitain*, whoſe Duke *William* was the Founder of *Clugny*. But we muſt here take notice of two things: The firſt is, That the antient Cuſtoms of this Monaſtry do plainly ſhow, that when this Congregation was founded, thoſe who were the Authors of theſe Cuſtoms, were not of *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion. This is evident from *chap.* 30. of the ſecond Book, and from *chap.* 28. of the third. The ſecond is, That though *Odo* might have entertained this Opinion of *Paſchaſius* concerning the carnal Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt, yet we may eaſily obſerve that

he never owned the Consequences of it. For we find in the Relation of the Death of this *Odo*, who died at *Rome* in the year 942, that he received the Eucharist, but there is no mention made of any Adoration that he paid at his receiving it.

2. We are to observe, that in this Description of *Odo*'s Departure, which was made by one of his Disciples, we meet with neither Confession before the receiving of the Eucharist, nor the receiving of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, which are sufficient Proofs that he knew nothing of these Sacraments.

3. It appears by the Writings of *Gerbertus*, who was educated in the Monastery of *Aurillac*, what was the Faith of this Diocess. He had been the Tutor of *Robert* Son to *Hugh Capet*, who raised him to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* in the year 991, in the room of *Arnulphus*, who was deposed. He hath writ an Apology for the Council which deposed *Arnulphus*, wherein he gives full evidence what esteem he had for the Pope, and how little he believ'd the Papacy necessary to the Church, not only because of the Vices of the Popes of his time, but also for several political Reasons, which engage every Church not to subject themselves to a foreign Power. " Suppose, saith " he, that by the warlike Incursions of barbarous Nations, " there be no way open for us to go to *Rome*; or that *Rome* it " self, being become subject to some barbarous Prince, be at " his Pleasure made part of his Kingdom, shall we in this case " be reduc'd to the necessity of having no Councils at all? or " shall the Bishops of the World, to the loss and ruin of their " own Kings, expect the Advice and Counsels of their Ene- " mies; for the Management of the Affairs of Church and " State.

Tom. 10. Baron. Pag. 899. n. 30.

We may see another Assertion of his in a Letter to *Seguinus* Archbishop of *Sens*: " I do resolvedly affirm, That if the " Pope of *Rome* himself should sin against his Brother, and " being often admonished, should not hear the Church, that " this same Pope of *Rome* ought to be look'd upon as a Hea- " then and Publican. Whereupon *Baronius* exclaims, *Here is a Sentence indeed, worthy only to proceed from the Mouth of some great Heretick, or of some most impudent Schismatick, which abrogates all sacred*

Pag. 905.

ſacred Councils at once, cuts the Throat of Canons, ſtrangles Traditions, and treads under foot all the Rights of the Church, that it ſeems impoſſible that a Catholick ſhould ever dream of ſuch things, much leſs, ſo ſaucily utter and aſſert them. We may alſo gather from the ſubſequent Words, whether or no he conceiv'd Communion with the Church of *Rome*, to be of abſolute neceſſity. " If he (the Pope of *Rome*) do therefore judg us " unworthy of his Communion, becauſe none of us will com- " ply with him in his Anti-evangelical Sentiments, yet he " cannot ſeparate us from the Communion of Chriſt; ſeeing " a Prieſt ought not to be removed from his Function, ex- " cept he have confeſt, or be convict of the Crime laid to his " charge: eſpecially when the Apoſtle ſaith, *Who ſhall ſeparate* " *us from the Love of Chriſt?* And again, *I am certain that* " *neither Death nor Life*, &c. And what greater Separation " can there be, than to debar any Believer from the Body " and Blood of the Son of God, which is daily offer'd up for " our Salvation? And if he be a Murtherer, that takes away " the Bodily Life from himſelf or his Neighbour, he that " robs himſelf or another of Eternal Life, by what Name ſhall " we call him? Ibidem.

We find in another Letter which he wrote to *Wilderodus* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, what work he makes with thoſe falſe Decretals, which were foiſted in on purpoſe to make the whole Church ſubmit to the Papal Yoak, as if before *Syricius* all the Eaſt and Weſt had belonged to the Papal Juriſdiction; wherein he exactly follows the Foot-ſteps of *Hincmar*, who confuted them with all his Might.

If we enquire into the reſt of his Opinions, we ſhall find, that he did not believe that the Popes had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, in any other manner, than all other Biſhops. See how he explains himſelf in a Diſcourſe to Biſhops, when he was Biſhop either of *Rheims* or *Ravenna*. " And as wo is me if I do not preach the Goſpel, or if I " hide long in my Heart the Treaſure that I have received, " burying it in the Ground; or if I keep the Candle of the " Divine Word cover'd under a Buſhel, and do not expoſe " it on a Candleſtick to the Eyes of all: ſo likewiſe if I do Analect. T. 2. Pag. 217.

" not open the Locks of human Ignorance, with thoſe Keys
" of the Kingdom of Heaven, which all of us, who are Prieſts,
" have received in the Perſon of St. *Peter*; ſo that upon this
" account, I may deſerve according to my ſmall meaſure,
" to hear that, *Well done good and faithful Servant, becauſe thou*
" *haſt been faithful over a few things, I will ſet thee over many.*

Pag. 219. And again; " *For ſo the Lord ſaid to St.* Peter, Simon Peter,
" *loveſt thou me? and he, Thou knoweſt, Lord, that I love thee.*

Pag. 220. " And when he had ask'd this a third time, and had been as
" often anſwered, the Lord repeated a third time, *Feed my*
" *Sheep.* Which Sheep, and which Flock, St. *Peter* not only
" received at that time, but alſo hath received them with us,
" and all of us have received them with him.

He ſhews that he did not believe the neceſſity of the Prieſts Intention in the Sacraments, when he ſaith in the ſame piece, ſpeaking to thoſe that were guilty of Simony,

Pag. 233. " I do once more enquire of my Brother Biſhop, leſt we
" ſhould ſeem to have omitted any thing that belongs to a
" true Proof and Trial, Who is it, Brother Biſhop, that con-
" fers Epiſcopal Grace? is it God or Man? God without
" doubt, but yet by Man. Man lays on his Hand, and God
" confers Grace; the Prieſt ſerves God with his ſuppliant
" Hand, and God bleſſeth with his powerful Right-hand:
" The Biſhop admits thee into the Order, but God makes
" thee worthy of it. O Juſtice! O Equity! If Money be gi-
" ven to a Man, who in Ordination does no more but diſ-
" charge a piece of Service laid upon him, why is the whole
" denied to God, who beſtows the Order it ſelf upon thee?
" Doth it ſeem juſt to thee, to honour the Servant, whilſt
" thou doſt affront the Lord? And whilſt the Prieſt unrigh-
" teouſly takes Money, ſhall God be injured by Man? And
" ſeeing God expects nothing from thee, for the Order be-
" ſtowed upon thee, why doth the Prieſt impudently look
" for Money? God is willing to beſtow it upon Man for no-
" thing, but the ravenous Biſhop demands Money. God of his
" Kindneſs and Love vouchſafes it for nought, but the mali-
" cious Prieſt captivates him and ties him to Terms: For
" what haſt thou that thou haſt not receiv'd? And if thou

" have

" have received it, why doſt thou boaſt as if thou hadſt not re-
" ceived it?

Laſtly, We ſee in his *26th* Epiſtle the Confeſſion of Faith that he makes, which contains nothing beſides the Symbol or the Apoſtles Creed, to which he adds only what follows: " I do not forbid Marriage . . . . I do not condemn ſe-
" cond Marriages; I do not blame the eating of Fleſh; I own
" that reconciled Penitents ought to be admitted to the Com-
" munion. I believe that in Baptiſm all Sins whether ori-
" ginal or actual, are forgiven; and do profeſs that out of the
" Catholick Church no Body can be ſaved; and I confirm
" and ratify the four holy Univerſal Synods, which the Mo-
" ther-Church confirms and approves of.

'Tis worth obſerving, that he doth not ſpeak one word concerning the Romiſh Traditions; ſo far was he from authorizing the Definitions of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, which the Church of *Rome* hath been pleaſed to authorize in the Council of *Trent*.

Laſtly, We may take notice, that *Leuthericus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, who died in the year 1032, had been the Diſciple of this *Gerbertus*, which is atteſted by the Continuator of *Aimoinus*: and *Clarius* Monk of St. *Peter le Vif* at *Sens*, has accuſed *Leuthericus* of having laid the Beginning, and caſt the Seeds of *Berengarius*'s Hereſy. Lib. 5. cap. 45.

I don't believe any one will think ſtrange that I have quoted *Gerbertus* amongſt the Writers of *Aquitain*, under pretence, that probably he might have chang'd his Opinions, after that he was elevated to the Papacy, under the Name of *Sylveſter* II. It is but too well known to be cuſtomary, for thoſe who us'd to ſpeak according to their own Judgment, and the Opinions of the Place where they were educated, as ſoon as they have been elevated to the Papal Dignity, to change their Notes. Of this we have an illuſtrious Example in *Æneas Sylvius*, whom we find quite transform'd into another Man as ſoon as he had taken upon him the Name of *Pius* II. the Papal Diadem having chang'd him from White to Black. And I am much miſtaken if the *11th* Century doth not furniſh us an Example every whit as remarkable, in the Perſon of *Gregory* the *7th*, who having been

been before Prior of the Monaſtry of *Clugny*, the Cuſtoms whereof, as I have hinted, did not ſuit well with the Doctrine of *Paſchaſius*, ſeems thence to have deriv'd his Opinions concerning the Euchariſt; for *Urſpergenſis* takes notice that the Council of *Breſſe*, where he was depoſed by 30 Biſhops, laid to his charge, That he was of *Berengarius*'s Opinion, as being his antient Diſciple; and we ſhall find this Accuſation not to be without ground, if we caſt our Eyes on his Commentary on St. *Matthew*; of which I have elſewhere given an Extract. Yet for all this, we ſee, that this Pope, complying with his own Intereſt, became afterwards one of the moſt furious Perſecutors of *Berengarius*.

I ſuppoſe theſe few Remarks will be ſufficient for my purpoſe: tho I might add, that St. *Fulbert* as well as *Leutherick*, having been the Diſciple of *Gerbert*, had deriv'd the ſame Doctrine concerning the Euchariſt from him; this is ſo certain, that a Doctor of the *Sorbonne* named *Villiers*, found no other means, about the beginning of this Century, to make him ſpeak to his mind, in publiſhing of his Works, than by inſerting ſome Words in the Text, which might make it to be look'd upon as the Objection of Hereticks; whereas indeed it is an Anſwer of his own, wherein he ſets down his Opinion, and he doth it in the ſelf-ſame Terms us'd by St. *Auguſtin*. But I keep my ſelf within the Bounds of what concerns thoſe Dioceſſes, whoſe Hiſtory I am upon.

I ſhall only take leave to add one thing, which is, that tho *Gerbertus* ſeems in his *26th* Letter, which contains his Confeſſion of Faith, to make an Alluſion to ſome of the Opinions of the *Manichees*; yet we may be ſure, that he did not expreſs himſelf in this manner, to ſhow, that he held nothing of their Tenets; no, he had other Reaſons for it, which it is not neceſſary to unfold here. Beſides, it is notorious that the *Manichees* did not ſpread themſelves in *Aquitain*, till he was a very old Man; at leaſt, it is true, that *Ademarus* doth not make them to appear in *Aquitain* till the year 1011, and that the firſt Synod held againſt them, did not meet at *Tholouſe* till the year 1019, that is to ſay, 16 years after his Death, which hapned in 1003.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The beginning of the Manichees *in* Aquitain, *and the State of thoſe Churches as to Religion in that Age.*

THere appeared in *Lombardy* and in *France* ſome *Manichees* chaſed from the Eaſt by the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. *Ademarus Cabannenſis* Monk of St. *Eparque* at *Limoges*, ſays, that they firſt were taken notice of in *Aquitain*, a little after the Year 1010. and he afterwards ſpeaks of a Council aſſembled at *Charoux*, againſt them. The Biſhop of *Meaux* makes no Queſtion, but that this gave riſe of the *Albigenſes*; and to evidence the Solidity of his Conjecture, he accuſeth, beſides ſome Writers of the 11*th* Century, the Canons whom *Robert* cauſed to be burnt at *Orleans*, to have been the firſt Diſciples of theſe *Manichees*, ſuppoſing all this while that the *Albigenſes* derive themſelves from the ſame ſource, and that they defended the ſame Opinions.

Now becauſe it is a matter of ſmall Importance to the Hiſtory of the *Albigenſes*, whether the Canons of *Orleans* were *Manichees* or not, I might very well excuſe my ſelf from entring upon that Enquiry. They may have been *Manichees*, and yet the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* not the leaſt concerned in the matter. Neither do I think my ſelf obliged to repeat here, what I have already delivered, concerning the differing Opinions of the ancient and modern *Manichees* in the 15*th*, 16*th*, and 17*th* Chapters of my Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Churches of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, ſuppoſing that my Reader may eaſily have Recourſe to them. Our Buſineſs is to ſee what was the Faith of theſe Dioceſſes, and queſtion not but we ſhall make it appear in the Sequel, that thoſe whom the Biſhop pretends to convict of *Manicheiſm*, are falſly charged therewith; the Romiſh Party having beſtowed that Name upon.

on them, only to make them the more execrable to thoſe of their Communion.

Nevertheleſs, becauſe *Ademarus Cabannenſis* teſtifies, that theſe Canons of *Orleans* had been inſtructed, not by a Woman, come from *Italy*, as their Hiſtory records the Story, but by a Country-fellow (as ſome MS. Copies of *Ademarus* tell us) of *Perigueux*, I am not unwilling to enquire a little into the Authority of this Hiſtory. *Glaber* relates it, *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. *pag.* 308. but beſides his Relation *D' Achery* hath given us, though not the very Acts of the Synod that condemned them, but the account of a private Man of *Chartres*, who profeſſeth that he ſet down in Writing what paſs'd in that Synod, which ſeems to be of ſufficient Authority. Be it as it will, they ſuppoſe from theſe Proofs, that theſe Canons were *Manichees*, and I own they are very like them, in the Relation that is given of this Synod, as well as in *Ademarus*.

Tom. 2. *Spicileg.*

But yet after all, there are ſeveral things which ſeem to give us ground to doubt of the Truth of this whole Relation. 1*ſt*, It ſcarcely ſeems probable, that a Woman, who was a Stranger, or a Peaſant, ſhould have been able in ſo ſhort a time to make ſo many Proſelytes amongſt the Canons and Citizens of *Orleans*, as to be able to form ſecret Conventicles amongſt them, and to propagate ſuch monſtrous Doctrines as thoſe of the *Manichees* were. Neither can we, with any appearance of reaſon, ſuppoſe, that one of theſe Canons, who formerly had been Confeſſor to the Queen, was ſo ſtupid a Fellow, as all on a ſudden to fall into the Enthuſiaſm of the *Manichees*. 2*dly*, It is evident, that in peruſing theſe pretended Acts, we find that all the Witneſſes which are produc'd againſt them, are reducible to one only, and he too of no credit, becauſe himſelf had been engag'd once of their Communion. I ſay all their Proceedings were founded upon the Depoſitions of one ſingle Man, and then afterwards they make the Men once executed, ſpeak what they pleaſe. It will be objected perhaps, that the Interrogatories were made in publick, in the Preſence of the People; but then let us conſider, that all this was writ after the Death of *Robert*, to juſtify ſo bloody an Execution. 3*dly*, We do not find in theſe Acts the ſame Accuſations,

tions, one accuſeth them of one thing, and another of another, though it be evident that the Deſign of all theſe Authors is equally to defame them, and make them execrable. *4thly*, We find in thoſe Acts, that theſe pretended *Manichees* juſtify themſelves againſt the capital Accuſations of *Manicheiſm*, chiefly upon the Article of the Creation. *5thly*, We find that they expreſt at their Martyrdom a Hope directly oppoſite to the Principles of *Manicheiſm*. *6thly*, Their very Enemies themſelves are oblig'd to give them a moſt illuſtrious Teſtimony, as to the Sanctity of their Lives and Manners.

It is certain that the accuſing them of denying Tranſubſtantiation, and rejecting Baptiſm, cannot juſtly be look'd upon as a Badg of *Manicheiſm*, if we conſider on the one hand, that the Queſtion, Whether the Bread be changed into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt? hath no relation to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, but reſpects only thoſe novel Doctrines which *Paſchaſius* had introduc'd: and on the other hand, that the Church of *Rome* accuſeth all thoſe for being Enemies to Baptiſm, who in that Point do not eſpouſe all the Opinions ſhe teacheth, in holding, as ſhe did at that time, the abſolute neceſſity of that Sacrament.

And as for their being charged with celebrating horrible Feſtivals, full of Inceſt and Abominations, we know that the ſame hath been imputed to ſome Hereticks of old, but falſly. It was laid to the charge alſo of the *Waldenſes*, but was never prov'd to be other than a meer Calumny: Our firſt Reformers have been accuſed of the ſame, but with an Impudence, for which the Church of *Rome* ought ſtill to bluſh, if that were a poſſible thing.

In a word, I find nothing in all this Relation that makes it look probable, but only two or three Characters, which agree with the barbarous Maxims of the Church of *Rome*. The firſt is, That it attributes to Queen *Conſtance* an unuſual Action, that with a Stick ſhe put out the Eye of *Stephen*, who had been her Confeſſor. The ſecond is an Action, much reſembling the courſe that is taken now adays to ſurprize Hereticks, and to diſcover them; for according to the Practice of the Inquiſition, we cannot find fault with the Method made uſe of by this

Arefaſtus, who feigned himſelf willing to become a *Manichee*, that he might the better diſcover their Opinions. It ſeems this Caſuiſt of *Chartres* had not much ſtudied St. *Paul*, who tells us, *We ought not to do Evil, that Good may come of it.* The third is, The manner of their taking up the dead Body of *Theodatus* the Canon, out of his Grave, who died three years before, and examining it by the trial of Water, that they might be certain whether he was an Heretick when he was alive. This is an Action well becoming this barbarous Age, very like the Inquiſitors; and accordingly this was the compendious Method which St. *Peter* of *Luxemburg* put in practice for the trial and diſcerning of Hereticks. I don't remember ever to have read any thing that might authorize this barbarous and extravagant Cuſtom, ſave only the ſecond Canon of the 2*d* Council of *Sarragoſſa*, held in the year 592, where it is ordained, *That the Relicks which ſhould be found in the Churches that had been poſſeſſed by the Arians, ſhould be carried to the Biſhop, that he might try them by Fire.*

The Biſhop of *Meaux* might have been as ſenſible of moſt of theſe things as we, in peruſing theſe Acts, and then it would have been eaſy for him to judg whether the Authority of *Vignier*, who ſimply relates what he met with in Hiſtorians did deſerve to be preſſed againſt us. But it ſeems it was enough for him to delude his Reader, and the Name of *Vignier* (though otherwiſe he does not accuſe theſe Perſons of *Manicheiſm*) ſeem'd to make for his purpoſe.

But whatſoever Judgment a Prudent Reader may paſs on this Accuſation of *Manicheiſm*, upon which theſe Canons of *Orleans* were burnt in the year 1017, it will be eaſy for us to ſhow that the Dioceſſes of *Narbon* and *Aquitain*, where ſome of thoſe Eaſtern *Manichees* took refuge, did never quit the Faith or Worſhip of their Anceſtors. This is what we ſhall eaſily make out in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe.

Ademarus a Monk of St. *Eparque* at *Limoges*, hath writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the *French* Monarchy until the year 1030, wherein he informs us, what was the Faith of the Churches of *Aquitain* at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century.

1. He

1. He relates, without paſſing any Cenſure upon it, the Synod held at *Gentilly* under *Pepin*, about Images that are ſet up in Churches, and ſhews that the Biſhops of *Aquitain* aſſiſted at the ſame, and that they oppos'd themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, and to the *Greeks*. *T.* 2. *N.* Biblioth. MS. pag. 157.

2. Though he groſly miſtakes in his Chronology about the Age of *Bede*, yet he makes it plain enough who they were whom he look'd upon as the Preſervers of the true Theology. He makes this Encomium of *Rabanus*; *A moſt Learned Monk, the Maſter of* Alcuinus; *for* Bede *taught* Simplicius, *and* Simplicius, Rabanus, (*whom the Emperor* Charles *ſent for from beyond Sea, and made a Biſhop in* France,) *who inſtructed* Alcuinus, *and* Alcuinus *informed* Smaragdus, Smaragdus *again taught* Theodulphus *of* Orleans, *and* Theodulphus, Elias *a Scotchman*, Biſhop *of* Angouleſm; *this* Elias *inſtructed* Heiricus, *and* Heiricus *left two Monks*, Remigius *and* Vebaldus, *ſurnamed the* Bald, *his Heirs in Philoſophy*. Ibid. pag. 159.

This is a moſt convincing Proof of the Judgment of the Churches of *Aquitain*, concerning the Controverſies that *Paſchaſius* had kindled.

1. We find here that they followed the Opinions of *Bede*, whoſe Homilies *Paulus Diaconus* had inſerted in his Collection, for the uſe of the Paſtors of *Gaul*, together with thoſe of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Maximus*, and ſeveral others. Now the Opinions of *Bede* are diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. This has been formerly proved by a vaſt number of Paſſages. I ſhall content my ſelf with ſetting down one or two of them: The firſt, is upon the third *Pſalm*, where he extols the Patience of our Saviour to *Judas*, becauſe he did not exclude him from his moſt Holy Supper; wherein, ſaith he, *He delivered the Figure of his moſt ſacred Body and Blood to his Diſciples*. The ſecond, is upon the Evangeliſts, in that part of them which ſpeaks of the Inſtitution of that Sacrament, where he declares, that *becauſe Bread ſtrengthens the Body, and Wine produceth Blood in the Fleſh, the Bread is myſtically referr'd to the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Wine to his Blood.*

2. They followed *Alcuinus*'s Notions who had a great hand in all the Writings of *Charlemain*, and especially in that concerning Images, where we find also his Judgment concerning the Eucharist, opposite to that of *Paschasius*.

3. We find they followed the Opinions of *Theodulphus* Bishop of *Orleans*, in whom we see a hundred things that are contrary to the Opinions of the present Church of *Rome*.

4. They followed the Opinions of *Rabanus Maurus*, whom Abbot *Herigerus* has cry'd down, for maintaining, that the Eucharistical Body of Jesus Christ goes to the Draught, together with our other Food; and whom one *Waldensis*, in his Epistle to *Martin*, placeth with *Heribaldus*, amongst the number of those Hereticks who have dishonour'd *Germany*.

5. *Ademarus* proves beyond contest, that they did not adore the Eucharist in their Communion; when on the one hand, Pag. 177. speaking of those of *Narbon*; he saith, "That to prepare "themselves to oppose the *Mores* of *Corduba*, who had in- "vaded their Coasts, they received the Eucharist at the hands "of their Priests, without mentioning any Adoration paid to "the Sacrament, in so extream and threatning a Danger: and Pag. 183. on the other, speaking of the Death of Earl *William*; *Whereupon*, saith he, *the Earl accepting of the Penance laid upon him by the Bishops and Abbots, and disposing of all his Goods, and particularly bequeathing his Estate and Honour amongst his Sons and his Wife; he was reconciled and absolved, and the whole time of Lent frequented Mass and Divine Worship, till the Week before* Easter, *when after he had received the holy Oil and Viaticum, and ador'd and kiss'd the Cross, he yielded up the Ghost in the Hands of the Bishop of* Roan *and his Priests after a very laudable Manner.* It is a thing singular and observable, that this Earl pays his Adoration to the Cross, though at the same time he forgets to worship the Sacrament, which yet is the chief Object of Adoration. Moreover, We are to observe, that the Latin word *Adorare*, when spoken of the Cross, imports only a Reverence, which we own was practis'd on these Occasions long before this time, because the Cross being no Image, there was no fear of incurring the Sin of Idolatry in saluting of it. This Count died in the year 1028.

But

But ſince this Eleventh Century was in a manner wholly taken up by the Papiſts, in oppoſing *Berengarius*, who, upon ſeveral Attaques maintained the Intereſt of Truth, againſt *Paſchaſius* and his Followers; it will be our Buſineſs to repreſent how far theſe Diſputes were ſerviceable in hindring the Opinions of *Paſchaſius* from getting the upper-hand in the Dioceſſes of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, and how this prepar'd their Minds for a Separation from the Church of *Rome*.

Never was any Man ſo often condemned as *Berengarius*, never was any Man more back'd than he, nor ever did any Man give more trouble to thoſe who endeavour'd to cruſh him, than he did. An Author of the 12*th* Century hath writ a Book, *Concerning* Berengarius's *manifold Condemnation*; and *Mabillon* hath taken care to collect the Names, and the Times of all thoſe Aſſemblies wherein he was condemned; but withal we may aſſert, that the Reaſons and Authorities he produc'd, gave his Enemies a terrible deal of Trouble. His Adverſaries have employ'd their utmoſt Efforts to aboliſh the Memory of his Works; but a ſufficient part of them have been preſerv'd by their own care, to enable us to judg of the Injuſtice of their Calumnies againſt him, and of the Purity of his Faith in the Matter of the Euchariſt. And for as much as he was of conſiderable uſe to the *Albigenſes*, in their oppoſing of the Doctrine of the Carnal Preſence, which the Faction of *Paſchaſius* and his Followers endeavoured to introduce and eſtabliſh under the ſhelter and favour of that groſs Ignorance, which reigned at this time, I ſuppoſe I may affirm, that his Works, whereof *Lanfrank* hath given us an Extract, were of no ſmall Service to oblige thoſe, who undertook his Defence, to ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Pope, or rather, to hinder him from ſubjecting them to his Yoak; ſeeing it was at this very time, that the Popes began to make themſelves Maſters of the Churches of the Weſt.

De Multiplici Berengarij Condemnatione.

It will be of great moment to prove that the Popes had not as yet made themſelves abſolute Maſters of this Part of the Church, which was always careful to maintain its Rights againſt their Encroachments and Uſurpations. My intent there-

therefore, is to employ the following Chapter upon this Subject, before I proceed to enquire how the Faith was preſerved in theſe Dioceſſes in the next Age, when they refuſed to ſubmit themſelves to the Authority of the Popes of *Rome*.

CHAP. XII.

That theſe Dioceſſes continued independent of the Popes, until the Beginning of the Twelfth Century.

I Acknowledg, that were the buſineſs to be decided by the modern Pretenſions of the Popes of *Rome*, to the Empire of all the Churches of the World, and in particular to a Patriarchate over all the Churches of the Weſt, we ſhould be forced to own, that they had been ſubject to them ever ſince the time that the Goſpel was firſt preached in *Gaul*, in both theſe reſpects. They have made it their buſineſs to perſuade Mankind that the whole World is but the Pope's Pariſh; and that more particularly, the Churches of the Weſt, which have been founded by their Anceſtors, who ſent them the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel, do belong to their Patriarchate; as if theſe Envoys of the antient Popes, in their Endeavours to propagate the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt throughout the World, had deſign'd to eſtabliſh the Papal Empire over all the New Conqueſts that they acquired to the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

But notwithſtanding all theſe new-found Claims and Pretenſions of the Popes, we can prove, that nothing can be imagin'd more vain, or more deſtitute of any Ground or Foundation than they are. For it is not true that thoſe Churches, which have received the Goſpel from another, are therefore ſubject to it, as we can demonſtratively evince by the Examples of the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lions*, which were founded by

by Perſons ſent from the Churches of *Aſia*; upon which account it was, that St. *Irenæus* ſent them a Relation of the Perſecution they ſuffered. Neither is it true, that the antient Popes, how careful ſoever otherwiſe they might be to promote their own Authority, did ever pretend to be the Patriarchs of all the Weſt, or of *Gaul* in particular.

This is a Truth we can unanſwerably prove, by the Teſtimony of the firſt Council of *Nice*, which aſſigns no other Juriſdiction to the Pope, ſave that which he enjoyed in thoſe which *Rufinus* calls the *Suburbicarian Regions*, and which the Learned Men of the Church of *Rome* at preſent own to have been comprehended within the ten Provinces of *Italy*, to which the Papal Ordination did belong, as we ſee it was under *Honorius*, and which were diſtinguiſh'd from the Dioceſs of *Italy*, properly ſo called, that is to ſay, the ſeven Provinces, which conſtituted the Dioceſs of *Milan*. This Canon therefore looks upon it as a thing not to be queſtioned, that *Gaul* was a Dioceſs diſtinct from that of the Popes, having its Authority within it ſelf, governed by its own Synods, without having the Ordination of its Clergy, the Determination of its Affairs, or the Authority of its Aſſemblies ſubjected to the Pope's Authority, as their Superiour.

If we had not this Canon of the firſt Council of *Nice*, which diſtinctly determines the Pope's Dioceſs, yet would it be very eaſy to prove it by other Arguments, ſuch as theſe;

1. We find that the Churches of *Gaul* convocated a Synod, upon the conteſt about *Eaſter*, towards the end of the 2*d* Century, without receiving any Orders from Pope *Victor* for ſo doing.

2. We find, that when the *Donatiſts* were condemned by the Pope, they deſired the Emperor that they might be judged by the Biſhops of *Gaul*: and accordingly we find that *Marinus* Biſhop of *Arles*, preſided in the great Council of *Arles* in the year 314, at which were preſent 83 Biſhops, twenty One of *Italy*, eleven of *Spain*, eleven of *Africa*, five of *Britain*, and thirty five of *Gaul*. Optat. Lib. 1.

Since

Since the Council of *Nice*, we find the Churches of *Gaul* governing themſelves with the ſame Independency, under the Conduct of their ſeveral Metropolitans.

We are to obſerve in general, that theſe Churches had their peculiar Code of Canons, made by themſelves, and that theſe Canons continued to have the force of a Law till the 8*th* Century, when their Diſcipline began to receive a great Alteration, by the cares of *Bonifacius* Biſhop of *Mentz*, and his Succeſſors. This is amply proved by *Juſtel*, in the Preface to his Collection of the antient Canons. Now it is viſible, that a Church which had its particular Rules, could not be dependent on the Pope, whoſe Dioceſs had its own particular Rules and Canons.

T. 1. Bibl. Jur. Can. pag 21, 22, 23, 24.

We can truly affirm, that the Biſhops of *Gaul* were ſo far from acknowledging the Pope as their Patriarch, that his Name was not ſo much as ever recited in the Churches of *Gaul* till the year 529, as may be clearly collected from the Council of *Vaiſon*; where it was firſt determin'd, that the Pope ſhould be mention'd in their publick Prayers.

And indeed if we enquire into the conſtant Conduct of the Biſhops of *Gaul*, throughout the ſeveral Centuries that are paſt ſince the Council of *Nice*, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that they never conceiv'd themſelves to be ſubject to the Pope of *Rome*.

In the year 337, *Maximinus* Biſhop of *Triers*, defends St. *Athanaſius*, as Pope *Julius* alſo did, and admits to his Communion *Paul* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and writes in favour of him to the Council of *Sardica*.

In 356, *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, convened the Council of *Beziers*, which condemned St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, in conſequence of which he was ſent into Baniſhment.

In 358, The Biſhops of *Gaul* condemned the Confeſſion of Faith of *Sirmium*, as we are informed by *Sulpicius Severus*.

In the year 360, St. *Hilary* vigorouſly defended the Faith againſt the *Arian* Party, in favour of which Pope *Liberius* had declar'd himſelf; and 'tis well known what *Anathemas* were diſcharged in *Gaul* by St. *Hilary* and his Friends, againſt that Apoſtate Pope.

Sozom. Lib. 5. cap. 8.

Pope

Pope *Leo* was ſo fully convinc'd of their Authority as independent upon his, that he ſent to them in the year 450, that dogmatical Epiſtle, which he was to ſend to the Eaſt, as ſoon as the Synods of *Gaul* had approv'd of it.

And it was upon the ſame account, that he ſent them the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon* againſt the *Eutychians*.

In the *6th* Century we find *Avitus* Biſhop of *Vienna* uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to appeaſe the Differences between the Church of *Rome*, and that of *Conſtantinople*.

We find likewiſe Pope *Hormiſda* communicating to the Biſhops of *Gaul*, his Reconciliation with the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. pag. 188.

We find in 529, the Fathers of the Council of *Orange* handling the Queſtions about Grace, and ſending their Decrees to *Boniface* II. who approved them the year following. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. pag. 215, 223.

In 550, Pope *Vigilius* gives an account to the Churches of *Gaul*, of what had paſs'd in the Eaſt; and the Prelates of *Italy* entreat the Biſhops of *Gaul*, to endeavour to appeaſe *Juſtinian*, in favour of *Vigilius* and *Dacius* Biſhop of *Milan*. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. pag. 287, & 294.

In the *7th* Century, we find that the *Gallican* Biſhops confirmed the *Lateran* Council that was aſſembled under *Martin* I.

We find Pope *Agatho* inviting the Biſhops of *Gaul* to come to a Council that he intended to call, whither alſo they ſent their Deputies at his Requeſt.

The *8th* Century being in a manner wholly ſpent in Wars, affords us little or nothing conſiderable in this matter; however, we may eaſily diſcern that this Dioceſs did even then maintain its Authority, in ſpite of all the Popes Endeavours to the contrary: whereof we have two moſt evident Inſtances. *1ſt*, Pope *Adrian* I. was ſo little informed of what paſs'd in *France*, that he knew not whether the City of *Bourges* was ſubject to the Juriſdiction of another Archbiſhop or no; as appears from the *Codex Carolinus*, *Epiſt.* 87. *2dly*, Their Independency clearly appears from the ſeveral Councils aſſembled about the Controverſy of Images, contrary to the

Designs of the Popes, and particularly from the Council of *Francfort*.

We find the same Spirit also in the following Century. And to speak truth, what-ever Change the antient Discipline under-went by occasion of the new Decretals, which the Pope's Emissaries had published, in order to subjugate all the West, and *France* in particular; yet we find that the Bishops of *France* hindred the Popes from concerning themselves with their Affairs: The Business of *Hincmar* of *Laon* alone, evidently shews, that they did not acknowledg that new Right, invented to make them buckle to the Papal Yoak; for we see that they maintain'd, that the Determinations of their Synods, were not to be alter'd by the Popes, they having no power to concern themselves about their Ordination, or any part of their Jurisdiction. About the end of the 10*th* Century, in the year 991, we find the Bishops of *France* that were assembled at *Rheims*, maintaining themselves by the Canons of the *African Code*, in opposing the Pope's Encroachments, who would, in pursuance of those spurious Decretals of the antient Popes, arrogate to himself a Right of reviewing and altering the Determinations that were made by the Synods of *France*.

I own, that since the middle of the 5*th* Century, we find the Popes granted a kind of Vicarship to some of the Bishops of South-*Gaul*; but withal, we know that this Power was so extreamly wavering, that it stood in need of being confirmed at the Instance of *Leo* I. by the Emperor *Valentinian* III. 2*ly*, That these were in a manner of no Efficacy at all, these Vicars having scarcely had the Power of convening Synods, but in virtue of the Right they had as they were Metropolitans, and little or no Authority as to the Ordination of Bishops in general, and of Metropolitans in particular.

It cannot be denied also, but that the Popes since the 8*th* Century, began to grant divers Priviledges, to the violating of the antient Discipline, though under the pretence of preserving it in the Monasteries, against the Attempts of the Bishops, because most of the Bishops, being turn'd Souldiers, thought of nothing else but Robbing them, under colour of

of holding their Viſitations. But it is worth our while, to conſider the eſteem that *Hincmar* of *Rheims* had of theſe ſort of Priviledges in his Letter to *Nicholas* I. " Now I did not, " ſaith he, deſire the Priviledges of the Apoſtolical See, as ſup- " poſing that the Holy Canons and Decrees which the Church " of *Rome* grants to every Metropolitan, were not ſufficient; " neither did I, nor do I deſire any other or ampler Priviledges, " than what have been formerly granted to the Church of " *Rheims*; but becauſe not only my Dioceſs, but alſo my " Province, is divided between two Kingdoms, belonging to " two ſeveral Kings; and becauſe the Concerns of the Church, " committed to my Charge, ſeem to lie under the Juriſdicti- " on of ſeveral Princes, from whom our Church can reap lit- " tle or no Advantage; becauſe the antient Conſtitutions " being already condemned by ſome carnal and brutal Men, " they might at leaſt be frightned by theſe new Decretals, " into a more reverential Carriage towards the Church, " which is committed to the Care of me, though unworthy. From whence we may ſee what it was that *Hincmar* meant.

We may make the ſame Reflection upon thoſe Vicarſhips afore-mentioned: We have an illuſtrious Example to this purpoſe, in the Caſe of *Anſegiſus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, xi *Kalend. July*, Indiction IX. " After the Biſhops were met together, " and the Goſpels were read before the Synod, and in view of " the Imperial Throne, (which were afterwards laid up at " *Pontyon*) the Emperor *Charles* came with the Legats of the " Apoſtolical See, and after the ſinging of ſeveral Hymns, " and a Prayer pronounced by *John* Biſhop of *Tuſculanum*, " the Emperor took his Seat in the Synod. After which, " *John* the Biſhop of *Tuſculanum*, read ſome Letters ſent from " the Pope, and amongſt them one, recommending to them " *Anſegiſus* Archbiſhop of *Sens* for their Primate; that as oft as " the Intereſt of the Church ſhould require it, either in calling " of Synods, or in the managing of other Concerns in *France* " and *Germany*, he might be look'd upon as the Apoſtolical " Vicar; and ſo by his means, the Decrees of the Apoſtolical " See, might be made known to the Biſhops; and on the o- " ther hand, that any Matters of importance might by him

" be communicated to the Apoſtolick See, and that all Af-
" fairs of moment and difficulty, might by his Suggeſtion be
" recommended to the Apoſtolick See, to be cleared and de-
" termined. Whereupon, the Emperor demanded of the
" Biſhops, what Anſwer they deſigned to return to theſe A-
" poſtolical Letters: who anſwer'd to this effect, That ſaving
" the Right and Priviledges of each Metropolitan, according
" to the ſacred Canons, and the Decrees of the Popes of the
" See of *Rome*, promulg'd from the ſaid ſacred Canons, they
" would obey the Apoſtolical Commands of Pope *John*.
" And when the Emperor, and the Apoſtolical Legats had
" done their utmoſt Endeavours to perſwade the Biſhops to
" an abſolute Anſwer, that they would obey without reſerve,
" in accepting of *Anſegiſus* for their Primate, as the Pope had
" written; yet could they never draw from them any other
" Anſwer. Then the Emperor commanded a Chair to be ſet
" above all the Biſhops of his *Ciſalpine* Kingdom, next to *John*
" Biſhop of *Tuſculanum*, who ſat at his Right-hand, and com-
" manded *Anſegiſus* to take place of all the Biſhops that had
" been ordained before him, and to ſit down in that Chair;
" the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* proteſting againſt it, in the hear-
" ing of them all, as a thing directly contrary to the ſacred
" Canons. In like manner, the day before the Ides of *July*,
" the ſame Letter concerning the Primacy of *Anſegiſus*, was
" read a ſecond time, at the Emperor's Command, and the
" Biſhops Anſwer demanded thereupon. Whereupon, the
" Archbiſhops anſwered ſeverally for themſelves, That as
" their Predeceſſors had been regularly obedient to his Pre-
" deceſſors, ſo would they be to his Decrees. So likewiſe,
" at the Command of the Apoſtolical Legats, that the Bi-
" ſhops ſhould meet the 17*th* day before the Kalends of
" *Auguſt*; the Emperor entred the Synod at nine a Clock in
" the Morning —— being accompanied by the Apoſtolical
" Legates —— and all took their Places as before. Then
" *Johannes Aretinus* read a certain Paper, which had neither
" Reaſon nor Authority. Afterwards *Odo* Biſhop of *Beauvais*
" read ſome Articles ſet down by the Apoſtolical Legats,
" and by *Anſegiſus* and *Odo*, without the Knowledg of the
" Synod,

" Synod, between ——————————— containing no-
" thing to the purpoſe; and beſides, void of all Reaſon and
" Authority, which for that reaſon, are not here added.
" And then again, a Motion was made concerning the Prima-
" cy of *Anſegiſus*, who after all, could obtain no more this
" laſt time, than he did at the firſt day of the Synod. From which account, it is moſt evident, that notwithſtanding all the pains *Charles* the *Bald* took to oblige the Pope, whoſe Friendſhip he had occaſion for, and whoſe Ambition he maintain'd, by trampling upon the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and the Rights of the Prelats of *France*; yet the Biſhops continued firm in their Judgments, and would not ſuffer themſelves to be enſlaved, as the Pope would fain have had them. This hapned in the year 876.

In particular we may juſtly obſerve concerning theſe Parts, where the *Albigenſes* have appear'd with the greateſt luſtre, 1*ſt*, That the greateſt part of theſe Dioceſſes, being rent off from the Empire after the year 409, when *Alaric* made *Thouloſe* the Seat of the Kingdom of the *Viſi-Goths*, it continued ſo divided, till it was again reduc'd under the Power of the *French* by *Clovis*, in the year of our Lord 507. 2*dly*, That ſince that time, we find that theſe parts of *France*, have been almoſt always united with the Churches of *Spain*, as appears from the Subſcriptions of the Synods held in *Spain*. 3*dly*, That they were never, to ſpeak properly, re-united with the Body of the Churches of *France*, till the Reign of the Emperor *Charlemain*. 4*thly*, That the Power of the Popes in *France*, hath been ſo very inconſiderable, that a Legat of the Pope having undertaken to conſecrate a Chappel in *Anjou* by the Duke's Order, but without conſent of the Biſhop; *Radulphus Glaber*, who relates this Hiſtory, could not forbear exclaiming againſt this Encroachment: *Baronius* on the other hand, ſtorms againſt *Glaber*, but the one of them writ what thoſe of his time thought and ſpoke concerning it; whereas the other gave himſelf entirely up to the Power of Prejudice, and followed the Deſign he had undertaken of accommodating antient Hiſtory with the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, on which he had his Dependance.

But

But we are especially to observe, that the Popes never began to exercise their absolute Power there, till they had setled their Legats in those Parts, and had brought all Causes to be tried at their Tribunal. Thus *Paschal* II. appointed *Girard* Bishop of *Angoulesm*, to be his Vicar in the Provinces of *Bourges*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tours* and *Britain*, in the year 1107, as appears by the Commission granted by *Paschal* II. to *Girard* Bishop of *Angoulesm*, published by *D' Achery*.

T. 3. Spicileg. pag. 131.

Thus the Legantine Power in the Dioceſs of *Ausch* was given after the year 1102, to *William* Archbishop of *Ausch*, as *De Marca* shews, on the Council of *Clermont*.

Pag. 278.

What I have just now observed, is so certain, that *Mezeray* hath publickly own'd it in his *Chronological Abridgment*. From the time of the *8th* Century, the Popes found ways to leſſen the Power of Metropolitans, by obliging them by the Decree of a Council held at *Mentz* by St. *Boniface*, which forced them to receive the *Pallium* at *Rome*, and to subject themselves, and be canonically obedient in all Points to the Church of *Rome*; which Profession was afterwards changed into an Oath of Fidelity, under *Gregory* VII. They also attributed to themselves, excluding all others, the Power of annulling the Spiritual Marriage, which a Bishop contracts with his Church, and to give him the liberty to espouse another. They had extended their Patriarchal Jurisdiction all over the West, by obliging the Bishops to take Confirmation from them, for which they paid certain Dues, which in process of time, were changed into what they call *Annates*, and by taking cognizance of those things, which belonged to the Bishops only. Nay what is more, they had in a manner wholly abolished the Provincial Councils, in taking away their Soveraignty, by nulling of their Decrees; so that these Assemblies were at last wholly left off as useless, because they afforded nothing to those who assisted at them, save the Displeasure of frequently seeing their Determinations made void at *Rome*, without once hearing their Reasons. *Gregory* VII. established it for a Rule of Common Right, that no Body should dare to condemn any Person, who had appeal'd to the Holy See. But they never made a greater Breach upon the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, than when they

they introduced this Opinion, that no Council could be aſſembled without their Authority; and when after ſeveral Attempts to eſtabliſh perpetual Vicars in *Gaul*, they found the way of having their Legats received there. To this purpoſe, they firſt made uſe of a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, which gave them Power to ſend Legats into the Provinces, to examine the Proceſſes, and the Depoſitions of any Biſhops, in Caſes where any complaint was made. After that they had thus accuſtomed the *French* Biſhops to admit their Legats in this Caſe, they by little and little gain'd another Point, when the Princes were weak, which was to ſend ſome amongſt them without any Complaint or Appeal at all; and at laſt, after they had ſubmitted to the Yoak, *Alexander* II. eſtabliſhed it as a Rule, that the Pope ought to have the Government and Adminiſtration of all Churches.

Of theſe Legats, ſome had a whole Kingdom under their Juriſdiction, others ſome part only: they came thither with full Power to depoſe Biſhops, yea, the Metropolitan himſelf, when ever they pleaſed to aſſemble the Councils of their Diſtrict, and to preſide therein with the Metropolitan; but taking place of him, to make Canons, to ſend the Deciſion of thoſe Matters to the Pope, to which the Biſhops would not give their Conſent, as likewiſe all the Acts of the Council, whereof he diſpoſed at his Will and Pleaſure. And it is to be obſerved, that their Suffrages outweigh'd thoſe of all the Biſhops together, and that oftentimes by their ſimple Authority, they judg'd and determin'd the Cauſes of the Elections, of Biſhops, of Benefices, of the Excommunications of Lay-men, and the like. Inſomuch, that theſe Aſſemblies which before were ſo Sacred and ſo Soveraign, for the ſupporting and maintaining of Diſcipline, having no Power any longer, were, to ſpeak properly, rather Councils to authorize and ratify the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope, than any lawful or free Councils.

So that it was not till the Papacy of *Alexander* II. and *Gregory* VII. that the Churches of *Aquitain* ſaw themſelves in danger of loſing their Liberty, by ſubmitting to the Papal Yoak, as well as the reſt of the *French* Churches. We are now to ſee how they avoided this Yoak, which was thus impoſed upon them in ſome meaſure.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Oppoſition that was made by a Part of theſe Churches, to the Attempts of the Popes, and of their Separation from the Communion of Rome *before* Peter Waldo.

IT is difficult preciſely to ſet down the Year, wherein a conſiderable Part of theſe Dioceſſes, rejected the Power of the Pope's Legats, and lowdly condemned the Errors which they would have introduced, under the Name of Councils, which the Popes had ſo often aſſembled againſt *Berengarius*. But we have great reaſon to conclude, that it happened under *Gregory* VII. when he undertook to oblige the Biſhops of *France* to ſwear an Oath of Fidelity to him, in much a like Form as Vaſſals ſwear to the Lords of the Fee, for in reality it is the very ſame; this ſtrange Piece of Novelty, which at one Blow deſtroy'd all the Rights of the Church, excited both Paſtors and People to defend their Liberties, and to reject this imperious Yoak. Then it was alſo, that he endeavour'd to change the Common Service of the Church, by ſtriking out all that was not agreeable to the Roman Service, which was very proper to inflame the Minds of the People, and make them more watchful for the Preſervation of the Doctrine and Ceremonies of Religion, which they had received from their Anceſtors.

For inſtance, It is certain that in the 11*th* Century, they changed the Collects which concern'd the Prayer for the Dead. We have an Example of it that was inſerted in the Decretal of *Gregory* IX. 'Tis an Anſwer of *Innocent* III. to *John de Beaux-mains*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, who at that time was retired in the Abby of *Clairvaux*. It contains the Queſtion which that Archbiſhop, who was the Perſecutor and Condemner of *Peter Waldo*,

Lib. 3. Tit. 41. cap. 6.

Waldo, propounds to *Innocent* III. together with the Pope's Anſwer.

" Your Brotherſhip has enquir'd why there was a Change " made in the Service of Saint *Leo*; ſo that whereas the " antient Books expreſs the Prayer thus, Grant to us, Lord, " that this Offering may be of advantage to the Soul of thy " Servant *Leo*; in the modern Books it is expreſt thus, " Grant to us, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that by the In- " terceſſion of St. *Leo*, this Offering may be of advantage " to us?

" To which we anſwer, ſaith the Pope, That ſince the " Authority of Scripture aſſures us, that he doth an Injury to " a Martyr, who prays for a Martyr, we are by a Parity of " Reaſon to judg the ſame of other Saints, becauſe they need " not our Prayers, as being perfectly happy, and enjoying all " things according to their Wiſhes: but it is we rather that " ſtand in need of their Prayers, who being miſerable, are in " continuable trouble, by reaſon of the Evils that ſurround us. " Wherefore ſuch Expreſſions as theſe, *That ſuch an Offering* " *may be of advantage to this or that Saint, for their Glory and Ho-* " *nour*, which we meet with in moſt Prayers, are thus to be " underſtood, That it may conduce to this end, that he may be " more and more glorified by the Faithful here on Earth. " Though moſt ſuppoſe it a thing not unworthy of the Saints, " to aſſert that their Glory is continually encreaſed until the " Day of Judgment; and therefore that the Church may in " the mean time, lawfully wiſh for the encreaſe of their Glo- " rification. But whether in this Point that Diſtinction may " take place, which teacheth us, that of thoſe who are dead, " ſome are very good, others very bad, others indifferently " good, and others indifferently bad; and therefore whether " the Suffrages of Believers in the Church for the very good, " are Thankſgiving; for the very bad, Comforts to the Living; " for thoſe who are indifferently good, Expiations; and for " the indifferently bad, Propitiations; I leave to your Pru- " dence to enquire.

Moreover, the Popes, *Nicholas* II, and his Succeſſors, under- took to defend the Celibacy of the Clergy, by which means

a great many Paſtors were depriv'd of the Functions of their Miniſtry, which obliged alſo a vaſt number of them to ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Pope, whoſe Creatures, after the Decree was paſt for authorizng Celibacy, look'd upon the married Clergy to be no more than ſimple Lay-men; not to mention now that the Multiplicity of Schiſms and Anti-popes, had reduc'd moſt of the Dioceſſes of *France* into a ſtrange Confuſion, ſome holding for one Pope, others for another.

But though we cannot aſſign the preciſe Epocha of the beginning of this couragious Oppoſition to the See of *Rome*, which had no other Original, but the juſt Defence of their Liberties, and the Deſire of preſerving their antient Truths; yet thus much ſeems to be certain, as far as we can gather from the poor Remainder of Records which the Barbarity of the Inquiſitors hath ſuffer'd to come down to us;

1. That this publick Oppoſition againſt the Efforts of Popery, was made about the beginning of the 12*th* Century.

2. That without great Ignorance both in Hiſtory and Chronology, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the *Albigenſes* were the Diſciples of *Peter Waldo*, and that conſequently they are to be look'd upon as a Colony of the *Vaudois*.

It is neceſſary, that we prove both theſe Articles with the greateſt clearneſs that may be; as well, on the one hand, to make it appear, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* hath no ground to ſuppoſe that theſe Dioceſſes were peaceably united to the Church of *Rome*, and in dependence upon it, before the *Albigenſes* appeared amongſt them; and on the other hand, to diſabuſe ſome of our own People, who too lightly have believed, becauſe the *Albigenſes* are eſteemed by ſome to be the ſame with the *Vaudois*, that they borrowed their Light from *Peter Waldo*.

The firſt Article can be very ſolidly proved by an Argument which ſeems beyond all Exception; I obſerve therefore, that *Radulphus* Abbot of *Tron*, about the year 1125, would not return from *Italy* through the Southern Parts of *France*, *Audiebat pollutam eſſe inveterata Hæreſi de Corpore & Sanguine Domini*: "Becauſe he heard they were polluted with an "inveterate

" inveterate Hereſy concerning the Body and Blood of our " Lord.

We ſee clearly that the Hereſy that reigned in theſe Dioceſſes, was that of *Berengarius*, who had beſtowed the Title of *Myſtical Babylon* upon the Church of *Rome*, and not that of the *Manichees*. This Paſſage of *Radulphus* of *Tron*, agrees perfectly with what *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, and *Baronius* after him tell us, that *Peter de Bruis* had preached in the Dioceſs of *Arles* about the beginning of the 12*th* Century. Now it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that one can declare a Country to be infected with an inveterate Hereſy, except there be great numbers of Men who publickly profeſs it.

True it is, that they beſtow the Name of *Petrobuſians* upon the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, as if he had been the Author of that Sect; but this doth not overthrow what we have ſaid, and only ſhows that the Papiſts are uſually ready to beſtow upon the Diſciples the Name of their Maſters, thereby to reflect upon them as Innovators. Thus they called the Followers of *Berengarius*, *Berengarians*, as if he had been an Innovator, who indeed took upon him the Defence of the old Notions, againſt the Innovations of *Paſchaſius Radbertus*. In like manner, they called thoſe *Henricians*, who followed the Doctrine of *Henry*, who yet followed and preached the Doctrine of *Peter de Bruis* and *Berengarius*; ſo that it doth not follow from thence, that *Henry* was the firſt that ever preached that Doctrine. Thus afterwards they gave the Name of *Eſperonites* to the Diſciples of *Eſperonus*, as if he had been the firſt Author of that Sect. And is not this very conformable to that antient Method, whereby *Lindanus* Biſhop of *Ruremonde*, made as many Heads of the Reformation as there were Men of note that had a hand in that great Work? A different Method, or the leaſt Article wherein they did not agree with their Brethren, ſerving him for a ſufficient Pretence to make them ſo many different Heads of diſtinct Parties.

The Proofs I am about to produce in Confirmation of the ſecond Article, do no leſs ſhow the Truth of what I have laid down, that theſe Dioceſſes had a long time ſince a great number of People and Paſtors, who were of different Opini-

ons from those of the Church of *Rome*. I do acknowledg that towards the end of the 12*th* Century, there may have been some of the Disciples of *Peter Waldo* in these Dioceſſes of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, which has occasion'd that several Popish Writers have almost perſuaded some Proteſtants, that the *Waldenſes* were the Authors of the Reformation amongſt the *Albigenſes*. *Perrin* takes it for granted in the beginning of his History, which he was the more easily perſuaded to believe, since he had obſerved that the *Albigenſes* have maintained the same Faith with the *Waldenſes*.

But it is not true that the *Waldenſes* ever carried their Faith into these Countries, but they found it there already eſtabliſhed, and they join'd themſelves to those who defended the same, before ever any of *Waldo*'s Disciples came thither to seek refuge for themſelves.

This is a Matter of Fact which it is easy to prove beyond controverſy; for seeing that St. *Bernard* was in that Country in the year 1147, to preach there, and that he made but small progreſs in it, (so firmly were they grounded in their Faith) we muſt neceſſarily infer from hence, that they had for a long time been engaged in the same. And indeed, it appears from the manner of St. *Bernard*'s expreſſing himſelf in his Sermons, and in his Epiſtle to the Count of St. *Gilles*, that these Opinions so oppoſite to those of the Church of *Rome*, had of a long time been entertained in these Countries.

We have the 4*th* Canon of the Council of *Tours* in the year 1163, which declares the Antiquity of this pretended Hereſy in *Gaſcoin* and the Country about *Tholouſe*, and speaks of their Meetings, which the Title of the Canon juſtly refers to the *Albigenſes*, in these Words; " In the Country about *Tho-* " *louſe*, there sprung up long ago a damnable Hereſy, which " by little and little, like a Cancer, spreading it ſelf to the " neighbouring Places in *Gaſcoin*, hath already infected many " other Provinces; which whilſt, like a Serpent, it hid it " ſelf in its own Windings and Twinings, crept on more ſe- " cretly, and threatned more Danger to the Simple and Un- " wary. Wherefore we do command all Biſhops and Prieſts, " dwelling in these Parts, to keep a watchful Eye upon these

T. 10. p. 1411.

" Here-

" Hereticks, and under the pain of Excommunication, to for-
" bid all Perſons, as ſoon as theſe Hereticks are diſcover'd,
" from preſuming to afford them any Abode in their Coun-
" try, or to lend them any Aſſiſtance, or to entertain any
" Commerce with them in Buying or Selling; that ſo at leaſt
" by the loſs of the Advantages of human Society, they
" may be compell'd to repent of the Error of their Life. And
" if any Prince, making himſelf Partaker of their Iniquity,
" ſhall endeavour to oppoſe theſe Decrees, let him be ſtruck
" with the ſame Anathema. And if they ſhall be ſeized by
" any Catholick Princes, and caſt into Priſon, let them be pu-
" niſh'd by Confiſcation of all their Goods: and becauſe
" they frequently come together from divers Parts into one
" hiding-place, and becauſe they have no other ground for
" their dwelling together, ſave only their Agreement and
" Conſent in Error; therefore we will, that ſuch their Con-
" venticles be both diligently ſearch'd after, and when they are
" found, that they be examined according to Canonical Se-
" verity.

This Canon expreſly declares; *1ſt*, That this pretended Hereſy had appeared a long time before. *2dly*, That it had infected ſeveral Provinces of theſe Dioceſſes. *3dly*, That moſt ſevere Methods were made uſe of to reduce them. This appears by the Council of *Lateran*, in the year 1179, in the laſt Chapter. And it is plain alſo from the Letters of the Archbiſhop of *Narbon* to King *Lewis* VII; " My Lord the
" King, we are extreamly preſſed with many Calamities, a-
" mongſt which there is one that moſt of all affects us, which
" is, that the Catholick Faith is extreamly ſhaken in this our
" Dioceſs, and St. *Peter*'s Boat is ſo violently toſſed by the
" Waves, that it is in great danger of ſinking. Now ſince *Lewis* VII died in the year 1180, having reigned ever ſince the year 1137, it appears clearly that *Languedoc* was full of the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, a long time before ever *Waldo* or any of his Diſciples had begun to preach.

Epiſtolæ diverſorum de Rebus Francicis. Epiſt. 33. ad Ludovicū VII. Juniorē Scripta à Narbonenſi Archiepiſcopo.

We may gather the ſame from what is related by *Henry* Abbot of *Clairvaux* in the Annals of *Hoveden*, *Anno* 1178, where he ſaith; *That this Plague was come to ſuch a Head in*

that

that Country, that they had not only made themſelves Prieſts and Popes, but alſo had their Evangeliſts.

I own that *Hoveden* ſeems to ſuppoſe, that the Faith of theſe *Albigenſes* came from *Italy*, by his calling them *Paterines*; for as for the name of *Publicans*, it was like that of *Cathari*, given them on purpoſe to blacken them, and is the ſame with that of *Bulgarians* and *Paphlagonians*, all relating to the Original of the *Manichees* who came out of thoſe Countries at firſt.

3*dly*. It appears from the Edicts quoted by *Hoveden*, that they were made againſt People of a more antient ſtanding than the Diſciples of *Waldo*. " Wherefore, becauſe the damnable
Pag. 585. " Perverſneſs of thoſe Hereticks, whom ſome call *Cathari*, " others *Publicans*, others *Paterines*, and others by other " Names, is encreaſed in *Gaſcoin*, the Country of *Alby*, and " other Places, ſo far that they do no more now, as in other " Places, exerciſe their Impiety in private, but manifeſt their " Errors publickly.

Epiſt. 92. *Stephen* of *Tournay* is an unqueſtionable Witneſs to the ſame Truth; he wrote a Letter to *Johannes de Beauxmains* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, in the year 1181, to perſuade him to comply with the Election of thoſe of *Lions*, who deſired him for their Archbiſhop, and lays before his Eyes the notorious Infidelity of the Dioceſſes of *Languedock*, *Gaſcoin*, and *Septimania* (*a*), and the general Deſolation of the Churches of the Romiſh Party in thoſe Parts. " Far be it, Father, ſaith he, from your Cle- " mency, that you ſhould have any Inclination for the Barba- " rity of the *Gothes* (*b*), the Levity of the *Gaſcoins*, or for the " cruel and ſavage Manners of thoſe of *Septimania*, where In- " fidelity is above Faith, Famine above Fame, Treachery and " Trouble more than can be conceived. I lately ſaw in my " Paſſage, when the King ſent me to *Tholouſe*, a terrible Image " of Death, frequent and fervent in that Country, the Walls " of Churches half demoliſhed, ſacred Buildings half burnt " down, their Foundations digged up, and where there were " formerly the Dwellings of Men, now nothing but the Ha- " bitations of Beaſts. I confeſs I ſhak'd and trembled when I " heard you were invited to thoſe Parts, in which tho you " might chance to be a Biſhop, yet you might eaſily be ſo with- " out any Advantage. We

(*a*) County of *Roſſillon*.

(*b*) People of *Languedoc*, which was called *Gothia*, becauſe the *Viſi-Gothes* ſettled long there.

We have the concurrent Teſtimony of the Archbiſhops and other Prelats aſſembled at *Lavaur* againſt the *Albigenſes*, who declare in their Letters to *Innocent* III, that this Hereſy had been ſown in theſe Countries long before, in theſe Terms: Cap. 66.

" For whereas the Heretical Peſtilence, which of old time " hath been ſown in thoſe Parts, was now grown to that " height, that Divine Worſhip was ſcorned and derided, and " the Hereticks on one hand, and the Robbers on the other, " haraſſed the Clergy and the Churches Revenue, and that " both Prince and People being given over to a reprobate " Mind, ſwerved from the true Faith, now by means of your " Armies, by which you have moſt wiſely deſigned to purge " away the Infection and Noiſomneſs of this Peſtilence, and " their moſt Chriſtian Leader, the Earl of *Montfort*, an un- " daunted Warriour, and unconquered Fighter of the Lord's " Battels; the Church which was ſo miſerably ruinated, be- " gins again to lift up her Head, and both Enemies and Er- " rors being for the moſt part deſtroyed, the Land which hath " ſo long been waſted by the Followers of theſe Opinions, will " at length accuſtom it ſelf again to the Worſhip of God.

Laſtly, The ſame thing appears by the Teſtimony of *Peter* a Monk of *Veaux Cernay*, in the firſt Chapter of his Hiſtory: " In the Province of *Narbon*, where formerly the Faith " flouriſhed, the Enemy of the Faith has begun to ſow his " Tares. The People there are diſtaſted with the Sacraments " of Chriſt, who is the Savour and Wiſdom of God, being " become profane and unwiſe, by forſaking the Wiſdom " of true Godlineſs. And after having repreſented how the Monks, *Petrus de Caſtro Novo* and *Radulphus*, the Pope's Legats, had forced thoſe of *Tholouſe* to abjure their Faith for fear of Puniſhments, but that ſoon after they returned again to their former Opinions; he adds, " For being " perjured, and relapſing into their former Calamity, they " conceal'd the Hereticks that preached at Midnight in " their Conventicles. O how difficult a thing it is to pluck " up a deep-rooted Cuſtom! This treacherous City of *Tho-* " *louſe*, from its very firſt Foundation (as 'tis ſaid) hath ſel- " dom or never been clear of this deteſtable Plague; this

" Poiſon

" Poiſon of Heretical Pravity, and ſuperſtitious Infidelity,
" having been ſucceſſively diffuſed from Father to Son.
" Wherefore ſhe alſo, as a due Vengeance for ſo great Wick-
" edneſs, has endur'd the Effects of avenging Hands, and
" the Ruin of a juſt Deſolation. —— Yea what is more, ſhe
" has ſuffered this Heretical Nature, and home-bred Hereſy,
" after it had been driven out by a well-deſerved Severity, to
" return again upon her; being deſirous to imitate her An-
" ceſtors, and refuſing to degenerate. By the Example of
" whoſe Neighbourhood, as one rotten Grape taints another,
" and as a whole Herd of Swine are infected by the Scabbi-
" neſs of a ſingle Hog, ſo the neighbouring Cities and Towns
" having once had theſe Arch-hereticks rooted amongſt them,
" are become wonderfully and miſerably infected with this
" Plague, by the ſpringing Shoots of their Infidelity. The
" Barons of the ſeveral Lordſhips in theſe Provinces, being
" almoſt all of them become the Defenders and Entertainers
" of Hereticks, loving them ſincerely, and defending them
" againſt God and the Church very warmly.

One needs only to reflect upon what I have here produced, concerning the time of the Promotion of *Johannes de Beaux-mains* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Lions*, and to recollect that it was he that perſecuted *Peter Waldo*, to make us acknowledg that we cannot ſuppoſe the *Albigenſes* to have been the Diſciples of this *Peter Waldo*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Opinions of Peter de Bruis, *and* Henry, *and their Diſciples, and whether they were* Manichees *or not.*

WE find that tho ſome *Manichees* ſetled themſelves in *Languedoc*, yet it ſeems they have only ſerv'd to give the Papiſts a colour, to accuſe thoſe whom their Errors, and their falſe Worſhip obliged them to look upon as an Antichriſtian Church. This will appear yet more clearly, by the account we are about to give here of the Opinions of *Peter de Bruis*, of *Henry*, and of their Diſciples, whom the Biſhop of *Meaux* would willingly have thought to have been *Manichees*. *Baronius* was not ſo quick-ſighted as the Biſhop; but becauſe it happens oft, that thoſe who ſtand upon the Shoulders of a tall Man can ſee a little further than he, we muſt enquire, by examining this Matter carefully, whether we are to believe *Baronius*, or the Biſhop of *Meaux*.

The care of the Inquiſition, has ſcarely lefr us any record of *Peter de Bruis*; ſo that we know ſcarce any thing of what concerns him, but what we have from the report of his Enemies, and thoſe Enemies too to that degree, that they us'd Fire and Sword to deſtroy him; which alone is ſufficiently a ſtrong Preſumption, that they had little or no Inclination to extenuate the Horridneſs of his Opinions, nor to put a reaſonable Senſe upon them, when according to the Rules of Equity, they could have given them a good one. Be it as it will, *Peter* Abbot of *Clugny*, bears witneſs that *Peter de Bruis*, from whom the *Albigenſes* have been called *Petrobuſians*, had taught almoſt 20 years in the Dioceſſes of *Arles*, *Embrun*, and in *Gaſcoin*, whither the Perſecution, which he ſuffer'd from the Biſhops and Archbiſhops of thoſe Dioceſſes, ſtirr'd up againſt him by *Peter de Clugny*, had forc'd him to take refuge. He

declares that he had made a great number of Diſciples, and exhorts theſe Prelats to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Progreſs of his Doctrine, by forcing him in this his Retreat, not only by preaching againſt him, but alſo if it were needful, *Vi armatâ per Laicos*, with armed Force by Lay-men.

Theſe Biſhops anſwered theſe Exhortations of *Peter de Clugny* perfectly well; ſo that after they had obliged him to keep more private, they watched him ſo cloſely by their Votaries, that at laſt they ſeized him at St. *Gilles*, where they caus'd him to be burnt in the year 1126, to the great ſatisfaction of *Peter de Clugny* and of *Baronius*, who highly extol the Zeal of thoſe, who by this means had avenged the Injury he had done to Croſſes, in burning them to boil his Meat on Good-Friday.

This is one of the Crimes laid to his Charge by *Peter de Clugny*, a Crime of ſuch a Nature, that King *Hezekiah* may upon the ſame account, be look'd upon as a moſt profane Perſon, though we know that his Zeal herein was approved by God himſelf. At this rate alſo, *John* of *Jeruſalem* muſt be look'd upon as a very negligent Prelate for not burning St. *Ephiphanius*, who at *Anablatha*, had torn the Hangings of a Church in which he found the Pictures of Jeſus Chriſt, and of ſome other Saints. And *Gregory* I, muſt paſs for a negligent ignorant Perſon for not burning *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who broke down the Church-Images, as well as *Peter de Bruis*, in a Time when Idolatry was not yet come to its height. For as for his boiling Meat with the Wood of the Croſs on Good-Friday, and eating of the ſame, ſuppoſing he had indeed done ſo, (though there be great probability to the contrary, and that it was only one of thoſe ſlanderous Imputations the Monks make uſe of to ſtir up the Fury of the ignorant Rabble) it would at the moſt have been no more than a notable Action to awaken theſe Idolaters, by ſetting before them their own Pagan Folly, deſcribed by the Prophet *Iſaiah* in the 44*th* Chapter of his Prophecy.

But this was not the only Crime of *Peter de Bruis*; he was not only an Image-breaker, but he had beſides, during theſe twenty Years of his Miniſtry, preached up many Hereſies: the chieſeſt

chiefeſt of which *Peter de Clugny* reduceth to five Articles, as being more horrid than the reſt. " And becauſe, ſaith he, " the firſt Seeds of this erroneous Doctrine were ſown and " propagated by *Peter de Bruis* for almoſt 20 years together, " they brought forth chiefly five poiſonous Shoots, againſt " which I oppos'd my ſelf as much as I was able.

" The Firſt conſiſted in denying that Infants could be ſaved " by Baptiſm, when they are under the Age of Reaſon; and " that the Faith of the Parents can be available to thoſe who " are not of Age to believe.

" The Second conſiſted in maintaining that no Temples or " Churches ought to be built, and that thoſe already built, " ought to be deſtroyed; and that Chriſtians did not need " holy, that is, conſecrated Places to worſhip God in, *&c.*

" The Third conſiſted in aſſerting that they ought to break " down and burn the holy Croſſes, becauſe that Figure, and " that Inſtrument wherewith Jeſus Chriſt had been ſo cru- " elly tormented and put to Death, was ſo far from being " worthy of Adoration, Veneration, or any other kind of " Supplication, that it ought to be diſhonoured with Indigni- " ty, broke to pieces and burnt, to revenge our Saviour's " Torments and his Death.

" The Fourth conſiſted, not only in denying the Truth of " the Body and Blood of our Lord, which is offer'd up every " day, and continually by the Sacrament of the Church; " but alſo in maintaining that it was nothing, and ought not to " be offered.

" The Fifth conſiſted in deriding all the Offerings, Prayers " and Alms, and other good Works done by the Faithful " that are living, for thoſe that are dead, becauſe they could " not by any of theſe means, afford them the leaſt Comfort.

Theſe were the Hereſies which *Peter de Bruis* had taught for 20 Years together, which is time enough to know the Opinions of one Man. And though *Peter de Clugny*, by his Character of being a Monk, and his mortal Enemy, was eaſily perſuaded to indulge his Credulity ſo far as to believe ſome Reports ſpread abroad concerning the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, that they did not own the Old Teſtament, which put

him upon proving the Divinity thereof, yet he insisted so little upon it, that he shows he was not persuaded in his Conscience that the *Petrobusians* were *Manichees:* and the Bishop of *Meaux* ought to have imitated his Discretion in the same Matter.

But, saith the Bishop, they rejected Baptism, which is one of the Characters of the *Manichees*. If he had said that *Peter de Bruis* had revived the Error of the *Hieracites*, whom St. *Epiphanius* speaks of, he would have had more Reason on his side; for the first Article, as *Peter de Clugny* hath expressed it, comes very near the Opinion of the *Hieracites:* but it is absolutely false, that it agrees with the Belief of the *Manichees* concerning that Sacrament. The *Manichees* absolutely rejected Baptism; whereas, if we will believe *Peter de Clugny*, the *Petrobusians* did not look upon it as needless, but only to Infants. In a word, *Peter de Clugny* attributes to them a kind of Anabaptism, which maintain'd, that Infants were not capable of Baptism, and that it was only to be conferr'd upon such as were full grown, because at the receiving of it, they were to make Profession of their Faith for themselves. At this rate we might as well accuse *Tertullian*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Walafridus Strabo* of *Manicheism*. We shall find hereafter, that this Error was not general amongst them, because the Disciples of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, reject it as a slanderous Imputation, and because the Malice which appears in the wording of this Calumny, is nothing but the effect of that Hatred wherewith *Peter de Clugny* was inflamed against these pretended Hereticks.

The second Article is visibly nothing else, but a Consequence drawn from the Aversion the *Petrobusians* had for the Popish Churches, because of the Idolatries there committed, and of their Consecrations to the honour of Saints. It is no such strange thing to see Men condemn Temples to be demolished, which they believe to have been profaned by Idolatry. *Gregory* I was one of the first that ever consecrated Pagan Temples into Meeting-Places for Christians; whereas before, the Emperors had ordered them to be shut up, and caus'd some of them to be pull'd down. It is very ordinary for those

thoſe who deteſt the Idolatry reigning in Churches, to be deſirous to remove all the Objects of it at the greateſt diſtance from thoſe whoſe Salvation they endeavour to procure. Laſtly, We know that the *Petrobuſians* judg'd the Pope to be the Antichriſt, which might very well prompt them to ſo great an Averſion for theſe kind of Buildings, in which Antichriſt had his Throne, as St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers* had diſtinctly foretold. But let Men think what they pleaſe, this Article has nothing of *Manicheiſm* in it.

The third Hereſy of the *Petrobuſians*, hath ſtill leſs of *Manicheiſm* than the former. It is evident that this alſo is nothing but a popular Conſequence againſt the Worſhip of the Croſs, which was then practiſed upon diverſe occaſions, of which we have before ſeen an Example, at the Death of a great Lord of that Country. But whereas he ſuppoſeth that the *Petrobuſians* did acknowledg, that Jeſus Chriſt hath endured the Croſs, and that he died upon it; in ſo doing he fully acquits them of being *Manichees*, ſince they did not own that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt truly died upon the Croſs. Moreover it muſt be confeſs'd, that no Man could better have renewed the Doctrine of St. *Agobardus*, than *Peter de Bruys*, when he maintained that neither Veneration, Adoration, nor Supplication were due to the Croſs, and that they were to be broken in caſe People were found to beſtow any ſuch Worſhip upon them. For this was the Doctrine of *Agobardus*, in his Diſcourſe of Pictures.

The fourth Hereſy is expreſs'd in very odious terms, and after the Popiſh manner, who own nothing to be real in the Sacrament, if the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt and his Blood be not there in Subſtance, and who do not believe he is preſent in the Sacrament upon any other account, but as he is offered up to God before he is eaten. But yet here there is nothing in this double Article of *Manicheiſm*. On the contrary we may aſſert that the *Romiſh* Opinion rather is a Branch of *Manicheiſm* than theirs: for is not the Body of Jeſus Chriſt in the Bread? and doth not the Subſtance of the Bread become the Subſtance of Jeſus Chriſt? and the Prieſt, or the Faithful when they digeſt it, do they not reſtore the Body of Chriſt to Liberty,

Tom. 9. Bib. Patr. Pariſ. p. 1278.

berty, in freeing it of its Bonds, by which the Charm of Consecration tied it up?

The Act of Oblation which the *Petrobusians* blamed in the Mass, is more clearly explained by their Disciples, as we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, it is worth observing, that they opposed the Change, which then began to be made in the Church of *Rome*, and which being accomplished, produced that Addition in the Liturgy, where they make the Priest say, *Et pro quibus tibi offerimus*, And for whom we offer up to thee; whereas before the whole Offering respected only the People, *Qui tibi offerunt*, Who offer up unto thee, in Allusion to that Custom of the People's offering the Bread and Wine which was used at the Communion. As soon as the Faith of the Real Presence was once entertained, they presently inquired what use might be made of it, and they found that it might be offered up to God, before it was offered to the People: and when they were once confirmed in the Belief of this Custom, they found it was necessary for the Priest to express a Sacerdotal Act; whereas therefore the People before simply offered the Bread and Wine to God, in order to celebrate the Communion with it, after Consecration they thought good to substitute the Priests offering of them up for the People. This was more distinctly practised in the thirteenth Century, as *Menardus* the *Benedictine* informs us in his Discourse upon the *Sacramentarium* of St. *Gregory*, though before that time we find some Footsteps of this Opinion.

The fifth Article which rejects Purgatory, and maintains, that the Living cannot help the deceased Believers by their Prayers, Alms or good Works, nor by any Masses designedly said for them, has as little *Manicheism* as the former: For as the *Petrobusians* cannot be said to be *Manichees*, for condemning the Use of Infant-Baptism; so neither can they be esteemed *Manichees* for denying Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead. Let the Bishop of *Meaux* turn over as long as he pleaseth the Catalogue of Heresies, he will no-where be able to find that the rejecting of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead, are Characters of *Manicheism*.

Is

Is not the Biſhop therefore, think we, very judicious, in taking *Peter de Bruys* and his Diſciples for *Manichees*? whereas he ought to have taken notice of two things in *Peter de Clugny*: The *1ſt*, is that *Peter de Bruys*, whom they accuſe of having boiled Meat on Good-Friday with broken pieces of the Croſs, eat of it when he had done, with thoſe who aſſiſted at that Execution. The *2d* is, that he maintained, that Prieſts and Monks ought rather to marry, than to live in a ſingle State defiled with Impurity: *Coccius* makes this Article one of the Hereſies of *Peter de Bruys*. Epiſt. 2. Theſ. Cath. Tom. 2. l. 8. Art. 6.

One clearly ſees what ſolid Grounds the Biſhop of *Meaux* had to accuſe *Peter de Bruys* of *Manicheiſm*: Let us now ſee whether he hath any better Succeſs with *Henry* the Diſciple of *Peter de Bruys*:

The Burning of *Peter de Bruys* at St. *Gilles*, did not ſtifle the Doctrine that he maintained, it had taken too deep Root in theſe Dioceſſes: On the contrary it encreaſed very conſiderably, after it was once watered with the Blood of that Martyr. The Oppoſition which the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruys* made to the falſe Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*, which they indeavoured to introduce into theſe Dioceſſes, after that they had made them ſubmit to her Yoak, was very uſeful to awaken the People. Pope *Eugenius*, the Diſciple of St. *Bernard*, being then in *France* (where he was more exactly informed of theſe Difficulties than the *Roman* Emiſſaries) took the Alarm very hotly. See here how St. *Bernard* deſcribes the State of Affairs, in a Letter of his to the Count St. *Gilles*. " How great Evils Epiſt. 240.
" have we heard and known that *Henry* the Heretick hath done
" and does every Day in the Churches of God? He wanders
" up and down in your Country in Sheeps Clothing, being
" indeed a ravenous Wolf: But according to the Hint given
" by our Lord, we know him by his Fruits. The Churches
" are without People, People without Prieſts, Prieſts with-
" out due Reverence; and laſtly, Chriſtians without Chriſt.
" The Churches of Chriſt are looked upon as Synagogues,
" the Sanctuary of God is denied to be holy; Sacraments are
" no longer eſteemed ſacred; holy Feaſts are deprived of
" feſtival Solemnities; Men die in their Sins; Souls are fre-
quently,

" quently ſnatch'd away to appear before the terrible Tribu-
" nal, who are neither reconciled by Repentance, nor armed
" with the ſacred Communion: The Life of Chriſt is denied
" to Chriſtian Infants, by refuſing them the Grace of Bap-
" tiſm; nor are they ſuffered to draw near unto Salvation,
" though our Saviour tenderly cries on their Behalf, *Suffer*
" *little Children to come unto me.*——This Man is not of God,
" who acts and ſpeaks things ſo contrary to God; and yet
" alas he is liſtned to by many, and has a People that believe
" him. O moſt unhappy People! at the Voice of an Here-
" tick all the Voices of the Prophets and Apoſtles are ſilenced,
" who from one Spirit of Truth, have declared that the Church
" is to be called by the Faith of Chriſt out of all the Nations of
" the World: So that the Divine Oracles have deceived us, the
" Eyes and Souls of all Men are deluded, who ſee the ſame thing
" fulfilled, which they read before to have been foretold:
" which Truth, though it be moſt manifeſt to all, he alone by an
" aſtoniſhing and altogether *Judaical* Blindneſs, either ſees not,
" or elſe is ſorry to ſee it fulfilled; and at the ſame time, by
" I know not what Diabolical Art, perſwades the fooliſh and
" ſenſeleſs People not to believe their own Eyes, in a thing
" that is ſo manifeſt; and that thoſe that went before have de-
" ceived, thoſe that come after have been deceived; that the
" whole World, even after the ſhedding of Chriſt's Blood,
" ſhall be loſt, and that all the Riches of the Mercies of God,
" and the Grace of the Univerſe, are devoted upon thoſe
" alone whom he deceives.

Epiſt. 240.

Pope *Eugenius* finding things in this Poſture, names *Alberi-cus* Biſhop of *Oſtia* for his Legat to the People of *Tholouſe*, and to the Count of St. *Gilles*. *Baronius* in his Annals gives us an Account of this *Henry*, the Diſciple of *Peter de Bruys*, and his Death, in the Year 1147, which ſeems to be very exact, becauſe St. *Bernard* writ to the Count of St. *Gilles*, to exhort him to drive *Henry* out of his Country, where he preached his Doctrine very freely: But the Earl died in the Holy Land, having been poiſoned there (as it was ſaid) by the Queen: Wherefore in the Year 1147, *Henry* ſuffered Martyrdom, at the Sollicitation of St. *Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, by the

the Cruelty of *Albericus* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, Cardinal and Legate of Pope *Eugenius* II at *Tholouſe*, where he cauſed him to be burnt, after they had brought him thither loaden with Irons. *Baronius* ſets down with great Care, whatever he thought might blemiſh the Reputation of the Martyr. He relates all that St. *Bernard* wrote againſt him to *Aldephonſus* Earl of St. *Gilles*. He quotes St. *Bernard*, who calls *Henry* an Apoſtate Monk, and accuſeth him of having made uſe of the great Talents he had in Preaching, as a means to get Money to ſpend at Gaming, and upon his Luſts. He ſays, that *Henry* was a Man defiled with Adulteries, who for his frequent Crimes, durſt not appear in ſeveral Parts of *France* and *Germany*, and who by Conſequence was not to be indured in the Territories of the Count of St. *Gilles*: but yet he doth not lay any thing of *Manicheiſm* to his Charge, no more than *Peter de Clugny* and St. *Bernard*: Nay, *Baronius* does more, for he formally diſtinguiſheth him from thoſe Hereticks whom St. *Bernard* oppoſed under the Name of *Apoſtolicks*, in his *66th* Homily upon the Canticles.

How then could the Biſhop of *Meaux* make a *Manichee* of him? Perhaps the looſe Life, whereof St. *Bernard* accuſeth him, may be a Character of it. But not to undervalue the Vanity of this looſe Accuſation, without any Proof, and proceeding from a ſworn and cruel Enemy, which was quite overthrown by the couragious Martyrdom of *Henry*: At this rate the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, who were ſo generally guilty of *Sodomy*, that St. *Peter Damian* writ a Book, intituled, *Gomorrhæus*, muſt have been *Manichees*; and upon the ſame Ground *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Cardinal, the Pope's Legate in *England*, for aboliſhing the Marriage of the Prieſts, muſt likewiſe have been a *Manichee*; for the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay that this Holy Cardinal, having aſſembled a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he repreſented to the Prieſts, that it was the worſt of Crimes to riſe from a Whore to conſecrate the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, was himſelf ſurprized in Bed with a common Whore, the ſame Day that he had ſaid Maſs. Upon this Account alſo the Legats of *Anacletus*, the Competitor of *Eugenius* II, muſt have been *Manichees*, for they are taxed with

carrying Women along with them in Mens Habits, probably to avoid the Inconvenience that *Johannes Cremenſis* fell into in *England*, for want of taking this Care before-hand.

They charge *Henry* with the ſame Hereſies which they attributed to *Peter de Bruys*; ſo that what I have already ſaid concerning the Hereſies of the *Petrobuſians*, I need not repeat here. *Baronius* adds, I confeſs, that *Henry* had ſuperadded to theſe Hereſies this Propoſition, *Additis irrideri Deum Canticis Eccleſiaſticis*, That the Singing in Churches was but a mocking of God. And accordingly *Peter de Clugny* refutes this pretended Hereſy with a great deal of Earneſtneſs: But if I may ſpeak my Opinion in this matter, neither did this Propoſition contain any great Crime. For *1ſt*, Singing in general was owned by *Iſidore* as an Innovation. It was about 70 Years before, that the Popes had aboliſhed the ancient Liturgies, to ſubſtitute the *Roman* Liturgy. The *Gothick* Liturgy, which was uſed in the Dioceſs of *Languedock*, and other neighbouring Dioceſſes, which at that time depended on the Kings of *Spain*, had been ſuppreſſed, becauſe it was not over-favourable to the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*. *2dly*, They had at the ſame time introduced a ſort of riming Verſes, which they call *Proſes*, ſo ridiculous, ſo fooliſh, and ſo full of Novelties, both as to the Worſhip of Saints, and as to the fabulous Stories they contained, that it was very difficult for thoſe who looked for Wiſdom in their Prayers, not to take them for Profanations. The Hymn compoſed by King *Robert*, in Honour of Queen *Conſtantia*, may give us an hint what ſort of things they were, *O Conſtantia Martyrum, &c.* And now let any one judg whether *Henry* was a *Manichee*, becauſe he condemned this ſort of Profanations.

De Offic. pag. 184. & cap. 10.

This alſo is what hath been owned by *Mezeray*, in his *Chronological Abridgment of the Hiſtory of France*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1673, where upon the Year 1163, he ſaith, "That "there were two ſorts of Hereticks, the one ignorant and "looſe, who were a ſort of *Manichees*; the other more "learned and remote from ſuch Filthineſs, who held much "the ſame Opinions as the *Calviniſts*, and were called *Henri-*

Pag. 577.

"*cians*

" *cians* or *Waldenſes*, though the People ignorantly confound-
" ed them with the *Cathari*, *Bulgarians*, &c.

Mezeray had ſpoken more exactly, had he ſaid, That the People were abuſed by the Biſhops and Clergy, who purpoſely confounded the ancient Followers of *Peter de Bruys* and *Henry*, with the *Manichees* and *Cathari*, to make them odious.

CHAP. XV.

That it doth not appear from the Conference of Alby, *that the* Albigenſes *were* Manichees.

HAving thus juſtified *Peter de Bruys*, *Henry*, and his Diſciples, from the Imputation of *Manicheiſm*, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* has endeavoured to faſten upon them: We will yet further endeavour to clear this Point, by examining the Conference of *Alby*, from whence the Biſhop thinks that he has drawn a ſolid Argument to confirm his Imputation. Let us ſee how this Conference is related by *Roger Hoveden*, in his Annals upon the Year 1176.

" It was in this Year that the *Arian* Hereſy was condemned,
" which had well nigh infected all the Province of *Tholouſe*.
" There were, ſaith he, certain Hereticks in the Province of
" *Tholouſe*, who called themſelves *the Good Men*; they were
" ſupported by the Militia of *Lombez*, and preached and
" taught the People contrary to the Chriſtian Faith, profeſſing
" themſelves not to own the Law of *Moſes*, nor the Prophets,
" nor the Pſalms, nor any part of the Old Teſtament, nor
" the Doctors of the New Teſtament, ſave only the Goſpels
" and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, with the ſeven Canonical Epi-
" ſtles, the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Revelation.

" Being queſtion'd concerning their Faith, *proceeds he*, and
" concerning the Baptiſm of Infants, and whether they were

" ſaved by Baptiſm; and concerning the Body and Blood of
" our Lord, where it was conſecrated, or by whom, and
" who were thoſe that received it; and whether it were more
" or better conſecrated by a good Man, than by a wicked
" Man; and concerning Marriage, if a Man and Woman
" could be ſaved, that knew one another carnally. They
" anſwered, That they would ſay nothing of their Faith, nor
" of the Baptiſm of Infants; neither were they obliged to
" ſay any thing of thoſe Matters. Concerning the Body
" and Blood of our Saviour they ſaid, That he who received
" it worthily, was ſaved; and that he who received it unwor-
" thily, procured his own Condemnation. Concerning Mar-
" riage they ſaid, that a Man and Woman join themſelves to-
" gether to avoid Fornication, as St. *Paul* ſaith. They alſo
" declared many things, without being queſtioned; as that
" they ought not to uſe any Oaths whatſoever, as St. *John*
" ſaid in his Goſpel, and St. *James* in his Epiſtle. They ſaid
" alſo that St. *Paul* had foretold that they ought to ordain
" Biſhops and Prieſts in the Church, and that if theſe Orders
" were not conferred upon ſuch as he there commands, that
" then they were neither Biſhops nor Prieſts, but ravening
" Wolves, Hypocrites and Deceivers, who loved the Salu-
" tations in the Market-places, the firſt Places, and the firſt
" Seats at Feaſts; who love to be called Maſters, againſt the
" the Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt; who wear white and
" ſhining Garments; who wear Rings of Gold, and precious
" Stones on their Fingers, which their Maſter never com-
" manded them. Accordingly they maintained, that ſince
" the Biſhops and Prieſts were like to thoſe Prieſts who be-
" trayed our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, they ought not to obey
" them, becauſe they were wicked.

" After divers Reaſons alledged on both ſides in Preſence
" of the Biſhop of *Alby*, they choſe and ſetled Judges on both
" ſides, with Conſent of the Biſhop of *Alby*. After this, *Ro-*
" *ger Hoveden* obſerves, that the Prelates cited divers Authori-
" ties out of the New Teſtament (for theſe Hereticks, ſaith
" he, would not be determined but by the New Teſtament),
" and that afterwards the Biſhop of *Lions* pronounced the de-
" finitive

" finitive Sentence, drawn from the New Teſtament in theſe
" terms, I *Giſlebert* Biſhop of *Lions*, at the Command of the
" Biſhop of *Alby* and his Aſſeſſors, do judg that they are He-
" reticks; and I condemn the Opinions of *Oliver* and his Com-
" panions, where-ever they are: And we judg this from the
" New Teſtament: I bring therefore for this Reaſon, Proofs
" to confirm the Divinity of the Old Teſtament, drawn
" from the New, and thereby oppoſe theſe Hereticks, be-
" cauſe they owned, that they received *Moſes*, the Prophets,
" and the Pſalms, only in thoſe Particulars, which Jeſus and
" his Apoſtles had by their Teſtimony approved, and not in
" others: whereupon he maintains with reaſon, that if an In-
" ſtrument or Teſtimony in Writing is allowed of in one
" part, the whole muſt needs be owned, or elſe wholly caſt
" aſide.

" In the ſecond place, ſaith he, We convict them, and judg
" them to be Hereticks, by the Authorities of the New Teſta-
" ment; for we ſay, that he has not the Catholick Faith,
" who doth not confeſs it when he is required; and when it is
" expoſed to any Danger; whence it is that our Lord in the
" Acts of the Apoſtles, ſaith to *Ananias*, ſpeaking of *Paul*,
" For he is to me a choſen Veſſel, to carry my Name, *&c.*
" Theſe Hereticks alſo boaſt themſelves, that they do not lie;
" whereas we maintain that they lie manifeſtly, for there is
" Deceit in holding ones Peace as well as ſpeaking; where-
" fore alſo *Paul* boldly reſiſted *Peter* to his Face, becauſe he
" gave way to the Circumciſed.

" In the third place, ſaith he, We convict and judg them
" to be Hereticks by the Authorities of the New Teſtament;
" for we ſay that God will have all Men to be ſaved, *&c.*
" After which he produces the Proofs for Infant-Baptiſm,
" and ſolves the Objection, taken from Infants wanting Faith,
" without which it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: We ſay that
" it is by the Faith of the Church, or of their God-fathers,
" as the Man ſick of the Palſy was healed by the Faith of
" thoſe who preſented him, and let him down thorow the
" Tiling of the Houſe.

" In

" In the fourth place, ſaith he, We do convict and judg " them as Hereticks by the Authorities of the New Teſta- " ment, becauſe the Body of our Lord cannot be conſecrated " but by a Prieſt, be he good or bad; which he proves, be- " cauſe Conſecration is made by the Words of Jeſus Chriſt. " Moreover, he proves that the Conſecration of the Body of " our Lord muſt be celebrated in the Church, and by the " Miniſters of the Church only, whoſe Authority he aſſerts " from Paſſages of Scripture.

" Clerks therefore and Lay-men, purſues he, muſt be obe- " dient for God's Sake to theſe Prieſts, Biſhops and Dea- " cons, be they good or bad, according to what our Lord " ſaith, The Scribes and the Phariſees ſit in *Moſes*'s Chair, " whatſoever therefore they ſay, do ye; but do not according " to their Works, for they ſay, and do not.

" In the fifth place, We convict and judg them to be He- " reticks by the Authority of the New Teſtament, becauſe " they will not own that Man and Wife, if carnally joined, " can be ſaved; and yet they are wont to preach in publick, " that Man and Wife cannot be ſaved if they know one a- " nother carnally: by ſtriving to preach up the Study of " Virginity, ſaith he, they ſeem to derogate from the State " of Marriage, and to condemn it; which he refutes by the " common Proofs.

" In the ſixth place, ſaith he, We convict and judg by " the Authorities of the New Teſtament, that they are He- " reticks, and ſeparated from the Unity of the Church; for " we ſay, that the Lord hath given the Power to St. *Peter*, " of binding and abſolving, ſaying, Whatſoever thou ſhalt " bind on Earth, ſhall be bound, *&c.* and St. *James* ſays, If " any one among you be ſick, let him call for the Prieſts of " the Church, *&c.* and again, Behold, I ſend unto you wiſe " Men and Scribes; but as our Lord ſaith, All Men cannot " comprehend this Saying.

" Moreover, We ſay, that they ought to have ſtood up, in " Anſwering and Diſputing concerning the Goſpel, becauſe " all Chriſtians ſtand when the Goſpels are read; now if we " ought to ſtand when they are read, much more ought we

" to

" to ſtand when they are read and expounded together. Nei-
" ther ought they to have ſat down after that they had once
" choſen to ſtand. Beſides, We have many Authorities, by
" which it plainly appears, that we ought to be ſtanding when
" the Goſpel is reading, as that, where it is ſaid, *And Jeſus*
" *ſtood in the Plain*; and again, *Jeſus ſtood and cry'd, ſaying*; and
" again, *There ſtands one in the midſt of you, whom ye know not.*
" Moreover, Jeſus was in a ſtanding Poſture, when, after his
" Reſurrection, he confirmed his Diſciples, and preached unto
" them; as it is written, *Jeſus ſtood in the midſt of his Diſciples,*
" *and ſaid, Peace be with you.* And as for them, ſaith the
" Biſhop, they have no right to judg, but only to anſwer;
" for the Lord ought to ſit, to whom all Judgment is com-
" mitted by the Father. But as for them, they judg not, but
" are judged, and it is not permitted to them to preach in the
" Churches. Theſe Hereticks are ſuch, as St. *Paul* foretels of,
" when he ſaith, that there ſhall be wicked Men and Sedu-
" cers, who will go on to grow worſe and worſe, deceiving
" and being deceived; for the time ſhall come, that they
" will not bear ſound Doctrine, but will turn their Ears away
" from the Truth to Fables. And again, From which ſome
" going aſtray, have given themſelves to vain things, who
" deſiring to be Teachers of the Law, underſtand not what
" they ſay or affirm. He maintains, that they ought to pu-
" niſh the Diſobedience of thoſe Hereticks, and to give them
" publick Correction, according to St. *Paul*'s ſaying, That
" Sinners ſhould be reproved openly in the Preſence of all
" for their Amendment. St. *Paul* alſo ſpeaking to Biſhops,
" ſaith, Being always ready to reprove every Diſobedience,
" and having Power to confute thoſe that gainſay; and again,
" *Exhort, rebuke, and reprove with all Authority*; and again,
" *I have delivered them to Satan*, &c. Moreover, *Being abſent, I*
" *have already judged*, &c. And laſtly, *Who ever ſhall preach any*
" *other thing, let him be accurſed.*

" In the ſeventh place, the ſaid Biſhop queſtioned them
" concerning Repentance, whether it were ſaving when per-
" formed at the laſt Gaſp, or whether Souldiers mortally
" wounded, may be ſaved if they repent at laſt; or whether

" every

" every one ought to confeſs their Sins to the Prieſt and Mi-
" niſters of the Church, or to ſome Lay-man, or to thoſe
" of whom St. *James* ſays, *Confeſs your Sins one to another?*
" To which they anſwered, that it was ſufficient for thoſe
" that were ſick, to confeſs to whom they would. As for
" Souldiers, they would anſwer nothing, becauſe St. *James*
" there ſpeaks only of the Sick. It was alſo asked them,
" whether one ſingle Act of Contrition of Heart, and one
" Confeſſion of the Mouth were ſufficient, or whether Sa-
" tisfaction were neceſſary, after Penance had been enjoined,
" in deploring their Sins, by Faſting, Alms, and Affliction, if
" they had opportunity. To which they anſwered, ſaying,
" that St. *James* ſaid, *Confeſs your Sins one to another, that you*
" *may be healed*; ſo that by theſe Words, they knew that the
" Apoſtle did not enjoin any thing elſe, but only to confeſs to
" one another; and that ſo they ſhould be ſaved, and that
" they would not be better than the Apoſtle, by adding any
" thing thereto of their own, as the Biſhops do.

" The Hereticks added beſides, that the Biſhop who pro-
" nounced Sentence, was an Heretick, and not they; and that
" he was their Enemy, and a ravening Wolf, a Hypocrite,
" and an Enemy of God, and that he had not judged rightly,
" and that they would not anſwer any thing concerning their
" Faith, becauſe they miſtruſted him, as our Lord had com-
" manded them in the Goſpel; *Beware of falſe Prophets, who*
" *come unto you in Sheeps Clothing, but inwardly are ravening*
" *Wolves.* And that he was their malicious Perſecutor, and
" they were ready to make it appear from the Goſpels
" and the Epiſtles, that he was not a good Paſtor, neither
" he, nor all the reſt of the Biſhops and Prieſts, but rather
" Hirelings.

" The Biſhop anſwered, That the Sentence had been duly
" pronounced againſt them, and that he was ready to verify
" the ſame either in the Court of Ld. *Alexander* the Catho-
" lick Pope, or in the Court of *Lewis* King of *France*, or of
" *Raimond* Earl of *Tholouſe*, or of his Wife who was preſent,
" or in the Court of *Frenkwel*, who was there preſent, that
" he had paſſed a right Judgment, and that they were evi-
" dently

" dently Hereticks, and branded as ſuch. He promiſed alſo " that he would indict them for Hereſy, and that he would " denounce them to be ſuch in all Catholick Courts.

" The Hereticks ſeeing themſelves convicted and con- " founded, turned themſelves towards all the People, ſaying, " Good People, the Faith which we now confeſs, we confeſs " for your Sakes. The Biſhop anſwered, You ſay, That you " ſpeak for the Sake of the People, and not for God's Sake. And they ſaid, " *We believe that there is one only God, in three* " *Perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*; *and that the* " *Son of God hath taken our Fleſh upon him, that he was baptized in* " Jordan, *that he faſted in the Wilderneſs, that he hath preached* " *our Salvation*; *that he ſuffered, died, and was buried*; *that he* " *deſcended into Hell, that he roſe again the third Day, that he aſ-* " *cended into Heaven, that he ſent the Holy Ghoſt on the Day of* " Pentecoſt, *that he ſhall come at the Day of Judgment to judg both* " *the Quick and the Dead, and that All ſhall riſe again. We know* " *alſo, that what we believe with our Heart, we ought to confeſs with* " *our Mouth. We believe, that he is not ſaved, who doth not eat the* " *Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is not con-* " *ſecrated but in the Church, and by the Prieſt be he good or bad*; " *and that it is no better conſecrated by a good than by a bad one.* " *We believe alſo, that none can be ſaved but thoſe that are bapti-* " *zed, and that little Children are ſaved by Baptiſm. We believe* " *alſo, that Man and Wife are ſaved, though they be carnally joined*; " *and that every one muſt repent with his Mouth and Heart, and be* " *baptized in the Church by a Prieſt*; *and that if they could ſhow* " *them more from the Goſpels and Epiſtles, they would believe and* " *own it.*

" The ſaid Biſhop told them alſo, That if they ſhould " ſwear, they would be obliged to keep the Faith, and if " there were any thing elſe, that they ought to confeſs it, be- " cauſe before they had maintain'd wicked Opinions, and had " ſpoken ill. They anſwered, That they could not ſwear at " all, becauſe in ſo doing, they ſhould ſin againſt the Goſpel " and the Epiſtles. Whereupon, they produced againſt them " Authorities out of the New Teſtament; and after they had

" been cited and heard on both ſides, one of the Biſhops ſtan-
" ding up, paſt his Judgment in this manner.

" I *Gozelin* Biſhop of *Lodeve*, by permiſſion and command
" of the Biſhop of *Alby* and his Aſſeſſors, do judg and declare
" openly, That theſe Hereticks are in a wrong Opinion con-
" cerning the matter of Oaths: they muſt ſwear, if ſo be they
" deſire to be received: for in Matters of Faith, Men ought
" to ſwear; and foraſmuch as they are infamous and ſtain'd
" with Hereſy, they muſt clear their Innocence; and returning
" to the Unity of the Church, they muſt confirm their Faith
" by an Oath, as the Catholick Church holds and believes;
" that ſo the weak ones that are in the Church be not cor-
" rupted, and that the infected Sheep may not ſpoil the
" whole Flock. Neither is this contrary to the Goſpel, or
" to the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*; for though it be ſaid in the
" Goſpel, *Let your Communication be yea, yea, nay, nay*; *and thou*
" *ſhalt not ſwear neither by the Heaven, nor by the Earth*, &c.
" yet it is not forbidden to ſwear by God, but only by the
" Creatures; for the Heathens worſhipped the Creature;
" and if it were permitted to ſwear by Creatures, we ſhould
" give to the Creatures the Reſpect and Honour which is
" due to God alone; and thus Idols and Creatures would be
" ador'd as God.

" After ſeveral Arguments to prove the Lawfulneſs of
" Swearing, he added; Or it may be thoſe Expreſſions in
" the Goſpel and the Epiſtle of St. *James*, are only by way of
" Advice, and not by way of Precept, becauſe if Men did not
" ſwear, they would not be forſworn; and whatſoever is more
" than theſe, cometh of Evil; that is, of Sin or of the Devil,
" who perſuades Men to ſwear by Creatures. Finding there-
" fore, that they were convicted in this Point alſo, they ſaid
" that the Biſhop of *Alby* had agreed with them, that he
" would not force them to ſwear; which the Biſhop of *Alby*
" denied, and ſtanding up, ſaid, I confirm the Sentence which
" *Gozelin* Biſhop of *Lodeve* hath pronounced, which was given
" by my Order, and I give notice to the Militia of *Lombez*, not
" to protect them. This was ſign'd by the nine Biſhops,
" Clerks,

" Clerks, Abbots, and Laymen, with this Concluſion, We " approve this Sentence, and we know they are Hereticks, " and we reject their Opinion.

This is the Subſtance of what paſt at the Conference of *Alby*, according to the Relation of *Roger Hoveden*. One ſees that he repreſents to us theſe three Things; 1*ſt*, The Accuſations laid to the charge of the *Albigenſes*; they are accuſed of ſeveral Articles, which are pure *Manicheiſm*. 2*dly*, The Arguments they brought to convict them. 3*dly*, The Confeſſion of Faith of the *Albigenſes*, in oppoſition to their Accuſations.

As for their Accuſations, we are to obſerve, that they are only Conſequences of their being look'd upon as Hereticks, ſuch as they pretended had been long ſince condemned in the Councils held againſt the *Manichees*; and accordingly they make a Recapitulation of the Errors, either defended by the *Cathari*, or commonly attributed to them, and with theſe they charge the *Albigenſes* without further Ceremony.

They produce indeed ſome Witneſſes who accuſe them, and maintain, That they have heard ſome of them maintain *Manichean* Propoſitions.

But the manner of their juſtifying themſelves, confounds this Accuſation, and theſe Witneſſes. 1. They declare, That the Silence they kept, was like that of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſometimes held his Peace, without anſwering the Queſtions of the Phariſees. 2. They call'd the Perſons appointed to confront them, falſe Witneſſes and Impoſtors, in as handſom a Manner as could be ſhown to Perſons of their Quality, who appeared againſt them. 3. They propound their Confeſſion of Faith, in Terms wholly Orthodox, addreſſing themſelves to the People, who had been Witneſſes of theſe horrid Accuſations.

Probably ſome will ſay; Here is a Company of Men actually accus'd of abominable Hereſies, and here are Perſons produc'd to prove it really upon them. To this, I have three things to anſwer. 1. That we have this Conference from the hand of their Enemies only. 2. That what is inſiſted on con-

cerning the Authority of their Witneſſes, is overthrown by a very natural Reflection; which is, That the Integrity of the *Waldenſes* was ſo well known, and their Adverſaries ſo much noted for their Inclinations to Calumny, that the Princes and all the People favoured them. This is obſerved by *Puylaurens* in his Chronicle, and it is taken notice of by *Ribera* in his Antiquities of *Tholouſe*, and yet their Enemies have ſtill gone on to accuſe them of *Manicheiſm*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Albigenſes *juſtified by a Conference, whereof we have an Account written by* Bernard *of* Foncaud.

WHat I have here repreſented in general, might be ſufficient to clear the *Albigenſes* from the charge of *Manicheiſm*, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* after ſo many Ages, hath improv'd againſt them, but that we have ſomething more to ſay. This Biſhop, who makes the *Waldenſes* only Schiſmaticks from the Church of *Rome*, though he looks upon them as another ſort of Schiſmaticks than the *Donatiſts*, hath pretended to prove this buſineſs infallibly, by the Conference, whereof *Bernard* Abbot of *Foncaud* hath given us the Relation, and which was held in Preſence of *Bernard* Archbiſhop of *Narbon*. He obſerves therefore, that it appears from the ſaid Conference, that thoſe againſt whom the Diſpute was maintain'd, differ'd from the Church of *Rome*, only in the following Articles.

" The Diſpute, ſaith he, chiefly concern'd the Obedience " that is due to Paſtors, which we find that the *Waldenſes* " denied, and that notwithſtanding all Prohibitions to the " contrary, they believ'd they had power to preach, both Men " and Women; and ſince this their Diſobedience could not " be grounded but upon the Unworthineſs of the Paſtors,

" the

" the Catholicks in proving Obedience to be due unto them, " prove it to be due even to thoſe that are wicked; and that " whatſoever the Channels be, Believers do not fail of re- " ceiving Grace through them. For the ſame reaſon, they " ſhew, that this ſpeaking againſt of their Paſtors, whence the " pretence of diſobeying them was taken, is forbidden by the " Law of God. Afterwards they confute the Liberty that Lay- " men took to themſelves of Preaching without leave of " their Paſtors, and indeed in oppoſition to their Prohibiti- " ons; and they ſhew that this ſeditious kind of Preaching, " tends to the Subverſion of the Weak and Ignorant. A- " bove all, they prove from Scripture, that Women, to whom " Silence only is recommended, muſt not undertake to teach. " Laſtly, They repreſent to the *Waldenſes*, that they do ill in " rejecting Prayer for the Dead, which hath ſo much Foun- " dation in Scripture, and ſo clear a Succeſſion in Tradition. " And as theſe Hereticks abſented themſelves from the " Churches, to pray amongſt themſelves in private in their " Houſes, they tell them, that they ought not to leave the " Houſe of Prayer, the Holineſs whereof was ſo much re- " commended in Scripture, and even by the Son of God him- " ſelf.

Here we may ſee the *Albigenſes*, in caſe they be the Perſons concern'd, (though the Biſhop pretends they are the *Waldenſes*) ſufficiently cleared from all the Accuſations of *Manicheiſm* that can be formed againſt their Faith. For according to theſe Articles, if we believe the Biſhop of *Meaux*, they cannot be charged with any thing of *Arianiſm*, much leſs of *Manicheiſm*.

I cannot perfectly agree to what the Biſhop of *Meaux* concludes, from their examining only theſe pretended Differences, in the Conference held before the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, that there was no other Difference betwixt the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe againſt whom the *Papiſts* diſputed at this Conference. There are ſolid Reaſons that hinder me from being of the Biſhop's Opinion: but however it be, he cannot defend himſelf from having furniſhed his Adverſaries with the moſt compendious way in the World, to overthrow without much enquiry,

all

all that he had done to prove that the *Albigenſes* were guilty of *Manicheiſm*.

For in truth this Diſpute, whereof the Abbot of *Foncaud* gives us an account, was not maintain'd againſt the *Vaudois*, but againſt the *Albigenſes*. For 1. the Biſhop might eaſily have diſcover'd as much, from the Preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, the Matter in queſtion relating to the Intereſt of his Dioceſs. 2. Becauſe the Abbot of *Foncaud*, who is the Relator, was one of the principal Actors, his Abby being in the Dioceſs of *Narbon*. 3. Becauſe this Conference, with ſome others, ſerved as a Prologue to the Cruelties exerciſed againſt the *Albigenſes*; the Church of *Rome* and her Miniſters, having already made uſe of theſe Ways of Sweetneſs, before they came to the Extremities of a *Croiſade*, which interrupted their other Projects towards *Greece* and the *Holy-Land*.

It follows clearly from hence, that according to the Acknowledgment of the Biſhop, the *Albigenſes* cannot be more juſtly accuſed of *Manicheiſm*, than the *Vaudois*, concerning whom he pretends, that the Abbot of *Foncaud* ſpeaks.

I cannot imagine how the Biſhop can anſwer the Force of this Argument, except only by denying that he is miſtaken, and pretending that this Conference was held with ſome of the *Vaudois* who had fled into the Dioceſs of *Narbon*, and had ſo conſiderably propagated their Doctrine there, that a publick Diſpute was judg'd neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of it.

But *1ſt*, it would be very ſtrange, that they ſhould be able in ſo ſhort a time to make themſelves more conſiderable than the *Petrobuſians* and the *Henricians*, with whom we know that the Dioceſſes of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* were already fill'd, according to the Teſtimony of their Enemies. *2dly*. Were it ſo, it would be neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that *Bernard* Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, who died the ſecond of *October* 1191, made it his Buſineſs to ſtop the Progreſs of ſome of *Waldo*'s Diſciples, who at that time, could ſcarcely be known, (*John de Beaumains* Archbiſhop of *Lions*, who condemned *Peter Waldo*, not having poſſeſſed his See above 10 Years, as far as we can judg, which he then quitted to retire to *Clairvaux*,) whilſt in the mean time, he took no notice of the *Petrobuſians* and *Henricians*.

ricians. 3*dly.* It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, againſt the Credit of all Hiſtorians, that the *Vaudois* compos'd a diſtinct Body from the *Albigenſes*, who, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, clearly ſuppoſe, that there were no *Vaudois* that had Churches, and that made a diſtinct Body. 4*thly.* Neither do we find that the cruel Inquiſition made any ſuch like diſtinction about this Matter, in uſing more or leſs Cruelty, according to the Degrees of Schiſm and Hereſy, as 'tis pretended they ought to do, in caſe they would act juſtly.

But whatever Anſwer the Biſhop may invent to defend his Opinion, we have a ſure Way to overthrow it without remedy, and 'tis the ſame which he himſelf hath furniſh'd us with; for he owns that the Conference of 1206, mentioned by the Monk of *Vaux Cernay*, was a Conference with the *Vaudois*. Beſides, that which *Bernard* Abbot of *Foncaud* hath ſet down; we have another, ſaith he, in *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, about the year 1206, where the *Vaudois* were confounded: now all Men know, that the Conference of 1206, was held with the *Albigenſes*, as *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, who lived at that time, aſſures us in his Hiſtory of the *Albigenſes*. Pag. 222.

But why then will the Biſhop ſay, Did not they diſpute before the Biſhop of *Niſmes*, and the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, but only upon theſe four Points? The Queſtion is eaſily anſwered: They diſputed about many other Articles, but either he who wrote the Conference, did not give us a Relation of the whole, as not ſuppoſing it convenient to publiſh their Objections againſt thoſe other Opinions and Superſtitions, which the *Albigenſes* oppos'd; or elſe they wanted time to examine the other Articles of the Roman Faith which they rejected.

What I ſay now, is not a Conjecture at random, produced only to ſtop the Biſhop's Anſwer, but is Matter of Fact grounded upon the Relation which we have of the Conference of *Montreal*, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

All this will lead us to paſs a true Judgment on the Condemnations which the Popes, King *Alphonſus*, and the Emperor *Frederick* II, iſſued out againſt the *Albigenſes*, in their Bulls and Edicts. They endeavour'd in ſhort, to make them be look'd upon

upon as infamous *Manichees*, as a Company of *Arians*, and as the moſt execrable Hereticks. The Popes prepoſſeſſed the Kings and Emperors with theſe Notions, by the reproachful Names which they faſtned upon them, after they had gotten the power to lead them by the Noſe as ſo many wild Beaſts: hence proceeds that heap of Names which we find in the Bulls and Edicts of that time.

The Reflection we ought to make on all theſe Terms of Obloquy, is this, that excepting only the Names of *Publicans* and *Cathari*, particularly given to the *Manichees*, it appears from theſe Edicts, that the *Albigenſes* and the *Waldenſes* did both believe the ſame thing.

But if what I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew the Injuſtice of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, in making the *Albigenſes* paſs for *Manichees*; the matter may be ſtill further cleared, if we turn over the Books of *Alanus Magnus*, ſurnamed the *Univerſal Doctor*; for it appears clearly from his Treatiſe againſt the Hereticks of his time, and above all againſt the *Albigenſes*, which he dedicated to *William* Prince of *Montpellier*; that it was the Faſhion at that time to treat the *Albigenſes* as *Manichees*; and to confound them with thoſe Hereticks, whereas their Faith was very oppoſite to that of the *Manichees*; for in his Refutation he huddles them altogether, without almoſt any Diſtinction, though their Principles were very different. It ſeems he made uſe of this way, that he might make uſe of his common places the better; or elſe he did it to avoid frequent Repetitions.

Contra Albigenſes & Waldenſes, Paganos & Judæos Opus quadripartitum.

In the firſt place therefore *Alanus* refutes the *Manichees*, who aſſerted that there were two Principles, whereof the one was Good, the other Evil; and maintained that the evil God had created the World; of whom alſo ſome affirmed, that the Souls of Men were Apoſtate Angels, who ſhould be ſaved after their Abode in humane Bodies; and that the Souls of the Patriarchs had no ſhare in the Salvation of Jeſus Chriſt. They held likewiſe that Jeſus Chriſt did not take upon him a true Body, and that he never eat or drunk. They believed that the Body of Man was the Workmanſhip of the Devil, and that it ſhould not riſe again, and they ſeemed to think that Souls periſhed with their Bodies. He

He refutes ſome, who though they believed the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, yet denied him to be the Son of God: others who maintained that Jeſus Chriſt had taken a celeſtial Body; that the Virgin had been created in Heaven, and had neither Father nor Mother. He takes up the firſt 34 Chapters of his firſt Book in confuting theſe Opinions.

Afterwards in his 35*th* Chapter, he refutes the Opinion of thoſe who pretended that the Law of *Moſes* was publiſhed by the Devil, and that the Fathers of the Old Teſtament were all damned.

As to the Sacraments, whereof he treats from the 39*th* Chapter, he owns that ſome of thoſe Hereticks, whom he oppoſeth in general, abſolutely rejected Baptiſm; theſe were *Manichees*; that others denied the Efficacy of it to Infants, denying Original Sin; that others again believed it unprofitable to Children, and only uſeful for thoſe of riper Years; and he diſputes againſt every one of theſe Opinions.

In Chapter 45, he diſputes againſt thoſe who denied Baptiſm to be uſeful without the Impoſition of Hands. Afterwards he confutes thoſe that maintained, that we ought not, after having obtained the Pardon of our Sins in Baptiſm, hope to obtain the ſame Grace a ſecond time by Repentance, which obliged them to excommunicate thoſe who relapſed into their Sins after Baptiſm, which they proved from the 6*th* and 10*th* Chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and becauſe Penance was no more to be reiterated than Baptiſm or Orders. It ſeems that theſe *Albigenſes* had a Diſcipline like that, which prevailed in the Church, before the Council of *Carthage* in *Tertullian*'s time, where they never admitted to the Communion thoſe who had committed any great Crimes after their Baptiſm.

In the 50*th* Chapter he attacks other Hereticks, who aſſerted that Penance did not procure Remiſſion of Sins, becauſe it is God alone that can pardon Sins. One ſees plainly enough what they meant, eſpecially becauſe he adds, that they believed it was ſufficient to confeſs their Sins to God, which they proved by the Authorities of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Maximus*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*.

He says that these Hereticks denied Transubstantiation. 'Tis worth observing to see with what Force and Subtilty they disputed against this Doctrine: I shall produce the Arguments themselves of the *Albigenses*, which *Alanus* endeavours to confute. *Et hoc sic probare conantur: Si singulis diebus panis in corpus Christi mutaretur, illud in infinitum augeretur. Quærunt etiam utrum ille panis desinat esse: si desinit esse, adnihilatur, & ita etiam corrumpitur. Item, quærunt quomodo corpus tantæ quantitatis intrat per os hominis? Item, si corpus Christi comeditur, dentibus atteritur, & ita in partes dividitur: Item, panis fit corpus Christi, ergo erit corpus Christi, & ita aliud quam sit. Item, panis fiet corpus, ergo de pane fiet corpus Christi, & sic de pane erit materia corporis Christi. Item, post Transubstantiationem remanent accidentia; ergo in alio subjecto, vel in Aëre; sed si in Aëre, aliqua pars Aëris est rotunda, sapida, & secundum quod illa forma defertur per diversa loca, mutant accidentia subjectum. Item, in eadem parte Aëris manent illa accidentia, & illa soliditas est in Aëre, cum illa sint solida, & sic Aër solidus est: Ex his videtur, quod accidentia illa non sint in Aëre, sed nec in corpore Christi sunt: nec est assignare aliquid corpus in quo sint, ergo non videntur remanere accidentia. Item, cum forma illa sub quâ latet corpus Christi dividatur in partes, sub illa formâ desinit corpus Christi: quomodo ergo sub singulis portionibus illius Hostiæ datur corpus Christi? Item, si corpus Christi latet sub illâ exiguâ formâ, ubi est Christi caput vel pes? Et ita indistincta sunt membra illius. Item, Christus dedit suum corpus discipulis ante Passionem: sed dedit eis mortale vel immortale: si immortale dedit, sed tunc erat mortalis; ergo quando erat mortalis immortalis erat, quod est impossibile. Item, ponatur quod aliquis celebraverit divina tempore passionis Christi, corpus existens Romæ, passum fuisset Romæ, quia ubicunque erat, patiebatur tempore passionis, & sic non patiebatur tantum in Hierusalem, sed in multis aliis locis. Item, ponatur quod mus accedat ad Pyxidem, in quâ est Christi corpus; mus aliquid comedit, ergo Aëra, vel accidens, vel corpus: sed quod comedat Aëra, vel accidens, absurdum est, & magis absurdum quod comedat corpus Christi. Item, cum sanguis Christi glorificatus sit, nec faciat localem distantiam, videtur quod Calice repleto sanguine, alius liquor possit infundi. Item, Christus ait in Evangelio, Omne quod in os intrat, in secessum emittitur. Ergo Christi corpus non intrat, quando*

Pag. 243, & 244.

ad

ad manducandum datur, nec in feceſſum emittitur. " And this they " endeavour to prove thus: If the Bread every Day ſhould " be changed into the Body of Chriſt, it would be infinitely in- " creaſed. They inquire alſo whether the Bread ceaſe to be: " If it ceaſeth to be, then is it annihilated, and ſo it is ſpoil- " ed. Alſo they ask, How a Body of ſo great a Bulk can en- " ter into the Mouth of a Man? Whether the Body of Chriſt " be eaten, chew'd with Teeth, and conſequently divided in- " to parts? Whether the Bread becomes the Body of Chriſt, " becauſe then it will be the Body of Chriſt, that is to ſay, " ſomething elſe than it is? Whether the Bread becomes the " Body; and if ſo, then Bread is the Body of Chriſt, and ſo " Bread will be the matter of Chriſt's Body? Alſo after Tran- " ſubſtantiation the Accidents do remain; if ſo, they muſt be " in another Subject, in the Air, for Inſtance; but if there, " then ſome part of the Air muſt be round, ſavoury and white; " and as this Form is carried through divers places, ſo the Acci- " dents change their Subject. Again, theſe Accidents abide in " the ſame part of the Air, and thus Solidity will be in the Air, " becauſe they are ſolid, and conſequently the Air will be ſolid. " Hence it appears that theſe Accidents are not in the Air; nei- " ther are they in the Body of Chriſt; neither can any other Bo- " dy be aſſigned, in which they are, ſo that the Accidents do " not ſeem to remain. Again, when the Form or Figure, in " which the Body of Chriſt lieth hid, is divided into Parts, the " Body of Chriſt continues no longer in that Figure which it " had before: how therefore can the Body of Chriſt be in eve- " ry part of that Hoſt. Again, if the Body of Chriſt be hid in " that little form, where is the Head or Foot? and conſequent- " ly his Members muſt be indiſtinguiſh'd. Again, Chriſt gave " his Body to his Diſciples before his Paſſion: Now he gave " it them either mortal or immortal; if he gave it immortal, " yet it is certain that then it was mortal: and conſequently " whilſt it was mortal, it was immortal, which is impoſſible. " Again, ſuppoſe we that ſome one or other had celebrated " the Communion at the time that Chriſt ſuffered; the Body " that was (ſuppoſe) at *Rome*, would have ſuffered there, be- " cauſe whereſoever it was, it ſuffered at the time of the

" Paſſion; and ſo Chriſt would have ſuffered not only at *Jeru-*
" *ſalem*, but in many other places. Again, ſuppoſe that a
" Mouſe ſhould come to the Pix, in which the Body of
" Chriſt is, and eat ſome part of it; the Mouſe would eat ei-
" ther Air, or Accidents, or the Body of Chriſt; but it is
" abſurd to ſay, that the Mouſe ſhould eat either Air, or Ac-
" cidents, and much more abſurd it is to ſay, that it eats the
" Body of Chriſt. Again, Seeing that the Blood of Chriſt
" is glorified, and does not fill a Place, it ſeems to follow,
" that when the Cup is full of Blood, ſome other Liquor
" may be poured into it. Again, Chriſt ſaith in the Goſpel,
" whatſoever enters in at the Mouth, is caſt forth into the
" Draught; whence it will follow, that the Body of Chriſt
" doth not go in at the Mouth when it is given to be eaten,
" or if it does, it muſt be caſt forth into the Draught. In
the 59*th* Chapter, he relates this Objection of the *Albigenſes*
Pag. 246. col. 2. concerning the ſame Matter: *Quærunt etiam Hæretici, utrum ſit Articulus fidei Chriſtianæ panem tranſubſtantiari in Corpus Chriſti, cum de hoc non fiat mentio in aliquo Symbolo: non enim in Symbolo Apoſtolico: ſcilicet*, Credo in Deum; *vel in Nicæno*, Credo in Unum, *&c. vel in Symbolo Athanaſii*, Quicunq; vult, *&c. Cum in his Symbolis, de omnibus Articulis Chriſtianæ fidei fiat mentio, cur non fiat mentio de illo ineffabili Sacramento, cui magis videtur obviare humana Ratio:* " The Hereticks alſo demand, whether
" it be an Article of the Chriſtian Faith, that the Bread is
" tranſubſtantiated into the Body of Chriſt, ſeeing there is
" no mention made of it in any Creed; for we do not meet
" with it in the Apoſtles Creed, that is, *Credo in Deum*; nor
" in the Nicene, that is, *Credo in Unum*; nor in the Athanaſian,
" *Quicunq; vult:* and ſince in theſe Creeds are contained all
" the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, why is there no men-
" tion of this ineffable Sacrament, which of all things, ſeems
" moſt contrary to Reaſon.

I have ſet down theſe Arguments in order, 1*ſt*. becauſe it is viſible to any one that will take the pains to examine them, that they are the ſame that were urged by *Berengarius*, as appears by the Extracts of his Book, which *Lanfrank* has preſerv'd, and afterwards by thoſe, who in the 12*th* Century endeavour'd to qualify

qualify and defend the Abſurdities of the Confeſſion, which they made *Berengarius* ſign. *2dly.* Becauſe it plainly appears that thoſe who admitted the three Creeds, the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian, did not reject the uſe of Matrimony, which yet he lays to their charge, there being nothing more remote from *Manicheiſm.* Neither doth he impute it, ſave only to ſome of theſe Hereticks, which makes it manifeſt, that he hath confounded all theſe People together, and that he only purſued his Matter, and his common Places, without giving us particularly the Opinions of every one of theſe Hereticks. Chap. 63.

We find, that he charges them with rejecting the Sacrament of Confirmation, becauſe there is no mention made of it, neither in the Goſpel, nor in the other Books of the New Teſtament, as an Inſtitution of Chriſt. They rejected alſo the Sacrament of Orders, as it was believed in the Church of *Rome.* See what *Alanus* ſaith of it: *Dicunt etiam fidei Catholicæ inimici, Ordinem, ut Diaconatum vel Sacerdotium, non eſſe Sacramentum, quod ſic probare conantur: Non legitur in aliquâ Canonicâ Scripturâ Apoſtolos ordinatos fuiſſe in Sacerdotes, cur ergo eorum Vicarios ſic ordinari oportet. Item, Apoſtoli qui majores Sacerdotes dicti ſunt, non leguntur uncti fuiſſe Chriſmate, cur ergo unguntur eorum Vicarii? Præterita merita faciunt & ſuffragantur ut quis ſit dignus aliquo Officio, quid ergo confert Ordo?* "Beſides, the Adverſaries of the Catholick Faith affirm, that "the Order of Deacons or Prieſts, is not a Sacrament, which "they endeavour to prove thus. We do not read in any "part of Canonical Scripture that the Apoſtles were ordained Prieſts, and therefore what neceſſity is there that "their Vicars ſhould be ſo. Again, The Apoſtles who are "ſaid to be the higher Prieſts, were never anointed, and "why then are their Vicars anointed? It is forepaſt Merit "and true Worth that makes one fit for any Function, what "need therefore is there of Orders? Chap. 66. Ch. 67. p. 251.

Concerning extream Unction, they believe after this manner: *Dicunt etiam extremam olei Unctionem, quæ datur infirmis, nec eſſe Sacramentum, nec aliquem habere effectum, quia hoc Sacramentum Unctionis infirmorum ab Apoſtolis inſtitutum non legitur:*

Chap. 68. *gitur:* " They ſay, that Extream Unction which is con-
" ferr'd upon ſick Perſons, is neither a Sacrament, nor o-
" therwiſe of any efficacy, becauſe this Sacrament of A-
" nointing the Sick, is not found to be of Apoſtolical In-
" ſtitution.

As to Churches, we find that they follow'd the Opi-
Chap. 69. nions of *Henry* the Diſciple of *Peter de Bruis: Non deſunt qui dicant locum materialem non eſſe Eccleſiam, ſed conventum fidelium ſanctum: quia, ut aiunt, locus ad orationem non pertinet; ſicut enim ubique eſt Deus, ſic ubique adorari vel orari poteſt. Hoc autem probare nituntur Authoritate Chriſti, dicentis Samaritanæ, Mulier crede mihi, venit hora, quando nec in Monte hoc, nec in Hieroſolymis, adorabitis Patrem: Sed venit hora & nunc eſt, quando veri adoratores adorabunt in Spiritu & Veritate. Item, Si locus facit ad Orationem, cur Heremitæ antiquitus in locis abditis habitantes, Eccleſias non habebant? Cur etiam Sacramenta effectum ſuum habent, etſi non celebrantur in loco qui dicitur Eccleſia? Item, quid operantur Parietes ad ſupplicandum ei qui ubique eſt, cum in uno loco non magis ſit quam in alio? Chriſtum etiam in montibus & locis deſertis legimus oraſſe, non in locis orationi dedicatis. Item, eſtne fructuoſior oratio quæ fit in Templo, quam illa quæ fit in agro, ſi par fuerit devotio?* " There be ſome
" who affirm, that the Church is not a material Place, but
" an holy Aſſembly of Believers; for, ſay they, Place is
" not of any concern to Prayer, becauſe as God is every
" where, ſo he may every where be worſhip'd and pray'd to.
" This they endeavour to prove by the Authority of Chriſt,
" ſaying to the *Samaritan* Woman; *Woman, believe me, the*
" *hour comes when ye ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor at* Jeru-
" ſalem, *worſhip the Father; but the hour comes and now is, when*
" *the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and in*
" *Truth.* Again, If the Place be any furtherance to
" Prayer, why had not the Hermits of old, who liv'd in de-
" ſert Places, their Churches to pray in? Or how can the
" Sacraments be of any efficacy, when they are not cele-
" brated in the Place call'd a Church. Again, What do Walls
" help us to pray to him who is every where, and not more
" in one Place than he is in another. We read alſo, that
" Chriſt

" Chriſt went aſide to Mountains and deſert Places to pray, " and not to Places appointed for Prayer. Again, Is the " Prayer that is perform'd in the Church of more efficacy " than that which is offer'd up in the Field, ſuppoſing the " Devotion of both to be alike?

Againſt the Prayers that are made to Saints, they objected as follows: *Dicunt etiam Heretici quidam, Orationes Sanctorum non prodeſſe vivis, nec vivorum orationes mortuis: probare etiam videntur; quod Sancti non orant pro vivis, qui ſciunt qui ſint ſalvandi vel damnandi; pro illis autem quos ſciunt ſalvandos non orant, quia ſuperflua eſſet eratio, quia ſive orent, ſive non, ſalvabuntur: Si vero orarent pro damnatis non aſſequerentur quod petunt, & ita beati non eſſent; beatus enim eſt, cui omnia optata ſuccedunt. Item, Quilibet judicabitur ſecundum opera ſua, & non aliena merita, nec pro alienis meritis reddetur ei: & ideo orationes Sanctorum non proſunt; vel quantum ad meritum, vel quantum ad præmium; quia non augent merita vel præmia. Item, Sancti non ſunt in loco merendi, ſed recipiendi; ergo orationibus nec aliis bonis merentur ſibi vel aliis. Item, In Evangelio Lucæ legitur, Quod Abraham dixit animæ Divitis quæ erat in inferno, Magnum Chaos firmatum eſt inter nos & vos; ubi Chaos nihil aliud vocavit, niſi diſſimilitudinem bonorum & malorum tantam, ut etiam ſancti damnatis non compatiantur. Si vero non compatiantur, nec orant pro eis.* Chap. 72. " Some Hereticks alſo " aſſert, that the Prayers of Saints are of no uſe to the Li- " ving, nor thoſe of the Living to the Dead. That the Saints " do not pray for the Living, they prove thus: Becauſe the " Saints knowing who ſhall be ſaved, and who damned, they " can not pray for thoſe they know ſhall be ſaved, ſince their " Prayers would be ſuperfluous, ſeeing whether they pray or " no, they will be ſaved: but ſhould they pray for thoſe that " ſhall be damned, they would not obtain what they pray " for, and ſo would not be happy; for he is only happy, who " has all his Deſires. Again, Every one ſhall be judged ac- " cording to his Works, and not according to the Merits of " another, neither ſhall any Man receive according to the Me- " rits of other Men; and therefore the Prayers of the Saints " profit nothing, either in regard of Merit or Reward, becauſe " they cannot encreaſe either a Man's Merit or Reward. A-

" gain,

" gain, The Saints are not in a Place where they can merit, " but only where they receive; and therefore by their Prayers " or other good Works, can neither merit any Good for " themſelves or for others. Again, We read in the Goſpel " of St. *Luke*, that *Abraham* ſaid to the Soul of the rich Man " that was in Hell, There is a great Gulf fixed between us and " you; where by Gulf he means nothing elſe but the Diſa- " greement there is between the Good and the Wicked, " which is ſo great, that the Saints are neither ſenſible, nor have " any compaſſion for the Damned; now if ſo, neither can we " ſuppoſe that they pray for them.

At laſt, He attributes to ſome of them, the Belief that it is unlawful to eat Fleſh, upon very ridiculous Grounds, but ſuch as have nothing common with the Doctrine of the *Manichees*.

It ſeems to me to be evident from this Book of *Alanus*, *1ſt*, That he owned there were ſeveral ſorts of Hereticks in the Country of the *Albigenſes*, *Manichees*, or *Cathari*, who rejected the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Religion. *2dly*, Another ſort of People who renounced all the chief Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Religion, which the *Proteſtants* rejected afterwards. And ſince he quotes no Author in particular, it is obvious to judg, that he made but ſmall Diſtinction of the Nature of the ſeveral Objections which he pretends to refute, and which he had frequently aſſigned to the *Albigenſes* in general; which without doubt, ought not to be attributed but to ſome of them, and which poſſibly, and very probably too, was only taken up from the Mouths of the common People amongſt them, by thoſe who had a Deſign to expoſe them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Calumnies raiſed againſt the Albigenſes, *refuted by the Conference at* Montreal.

THoſe who will reflect a little upon the Innocence of the Primitive Chriſtians, and the horrid Slanders caſt upon them, will not be much ſurpriz'd to ſee the Innocence of the *Albigenſes* attack'd after the ſame manner. The Devil having found this Method ſucceed in the firſt Beginnings of Chriſtianity, was not ſo careleſs of his Intereſt to forget to employ the ſame againſt thoſe who oppoſed themſelves to the Corruptions which he had introduced, and which he was willing to ſubſtitute, inſtead of the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

He made uſe of the ſame Method againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion. Whoever reads the Writings of the Jeſuits, ſhall find that they have accuſed our Reformers of the ſame Hereſies which the Devil rais'd to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Chriſtianity. The Jeſuit *Gauthier* alone may be a ſufficient Witneſs hereof, in his Chronological Table; and we may well ſay that in this Point, he hath at leaſt equaliz'd the Impudence of *Feuardentius*, if he hath not out done him. Why ſhould any Man therefore think ſtrange, that the Church of *Rome* and her Adorers, ſhould take the ſame courſe againſt the *Albigenſes*, which ſhe practis'd in our days; and which ſhe hath not yet left, becauſe ſhe believ'd it would not fail of certain Succeſs? ſo prodigious is the Stupidity of the People of her Communion. And truly the Managers for the Church of *Rome*, were no leſs diligent to employ theſe deviliſh Artifices againſt the *Albigenſes*, than againſt us. Here are ſome Inſtances of it, for it is impoſſible to relate all; I begin with ſome of the more general Articles.

1. They accuſed them of Novelty, ſometimes ſuppoſing them to have been only known ſince the time of *Peter de Bruis*, or of *Henry* his Diſciple, though the contrary be evident from the Hiſtory of this Church, as we have ſet it down; and by the Publick Liturgy, which the Papiſts themſelves have publiſhed not long ſince.

2. They accuſed them of being the Diſciples of *Peter Waldo*, and from thence rais'd this Accuſation, that they were only a Company of Lay-men, without either Miniſtry, or right to adminiſter the Sacraments; whereas it is certain, that they had a lawful Miniſtry, and indeed a thouſand times more lawful than that of the Church of *Rome*.

3. They accuſed them in general of being *Manichees*, perhaps becauſe formerly the *Priſcillianiſts*, who were a Branch of the *Manichees*, had had a Party in that Province, or near it, as *Philaſtrius* tells us, and of whom ſome were ſcattered through *Languedock*, after the year 1010, though indeed the *Albigenſes* diſputed againſt them, and ſolidly confuted them, as we are informed by *William Puylaurens*.

4. They endeavour'd to make them own the Opinions and Crimes, that were proper to the *Manichees*, by producing falſe Witneſſes to convict them thereof. We have an illuſtrious Example of this, in the Hiſtory of the Earls of *Tholouſe*. *William Catel*, Counſellor for the King in the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, tells us, that two Hereticks, whereof the one was called *Raymond*, the other *Bennet*, having appear'd before the Pope's Legate, it was witneſs'd againſt them, that they had been heard to preach that there were two Gods, the one good, and the other evil; that Prieſts could not conſecrate the Holy Hoſt; that married Perſons could not be ſaved if they had to do with their Wives; that Baptiſm is not neceſſary to Infants, and many other Hereſies, which they would never acknowledg, notwithſtanding all the Witneſſes that appear'd againſt them; but ſaid, they were falſe Witneſſes, and that they believed what the Catholick Religion engageth us to believe. But notwithſtanding theſe their ſolemn Proteſtations, they further object againſt them all the Conſequences of *Manicheiſm*,

cheiſm, as natural Inferences from the former Opinions, of which they pretended that they had convicted them by Witneſſes. This probably was the riſe of thoſe fine Controverſies we find in *Alanus Magnus*, and other Polemical Writers who copied him.

5. They have been charged with forſwearing themſelves before a Court of Juſtice without ſcruple, though at the ſame time they are accuſed for maintaining that every Lie is a mortal Sin. This is done by *Alanus*, who falls upon them very heavily upon that account.

6. They are accuſed of being *Arians*, though *Alanus* diſtinguiſheth them, and that the Popiſh Prieſts ought rather to be accuſed of favouring *Manicheiſm* and *Arianiſm*, than the *Albigenſes*, who ſubtilly diſputed againſt theſe Hereſies.

But it will be eaſy to refute theſe Calumnies, by the Conference of *Montreal*, in the year 1206, related by the Monk of *Vaux Cernay*. It was offer'd to the Biſhops by the *Albigenſes*, under certain Conditions, That there ſhould be Moderators appointed on both ſides, Men of Authority, able to hinder any Tumult or Sedition: Alſo, that the Place where the Conference was to be, might be free and ſafe for all thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt at it: Moreover, that the Subjects to be diſputed upon, ſhould be agreed to by joint conſent, and not to be quitted till they were wholly diſcuſs'd; and that thoſe that could not maintain their Opinions by the Word of God, ſhould be look'd upon as overcome. The Biſhops and Monks accepted of all theſe Conditions. The Place they agreed upon, was *Montreal* near *Carcaſſon*, in the year 1206; the Moderators agreed on on both ſides, were B. of *Villeneufve*, and B. of *Auxerre* for the Biſhops, and for the *Albigenſes*, *R. de Bot*, and *Anthony Riviere*; *Arnoldus Hot* the Paſtor of the *Albigenſes*, accompanied with thoſe that were thought fit for this Action, appear'd firſt at the Place and Time aſſigned; and afterwards came the Biſhop of *Ozma*, and the Monk *Dominic* a *Spaniard*, with two of the Pope's Legats, *Peter Caſtel*, and *Radulphus de Luſt*, Abbot of *Candets*, *P. Bertrand* Prior of *Auterive*, as alſo the Prior of *Palat*, and ſeveral other Prieſts and Monks.

The Theſes propounded by *Arnoldus*, were, That the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation were the Invention of Men, and not the Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt or his Apoſtles.

That the Church of *Rome* was not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Church of Confuſion, drunk with the Blood of the Martyrs.

That the Polity of the Church of *Rome* was neither good nor holy, nor eſtabliſhed by Jeſus Chriſt.

Arnaud ſent theſe Propoſitions to the Biſhop, who demanded a Fortnight to prepare his Anſwer, which was granted. At the Day appointed the Biſhop fail'd not to appear with a large Writing; whereupon *Arnaud Hot* deſired leave to be heard upon the Spot, *extempore*, declaring that he would anſwer all the Particulars contained in the ſaid Writing, deſiring the Auditors not to be tired, if he took up ſome time in anſwering ſo long a Diſcourſe; they promiſed he ſhould be heard with Attention and Patience, without the leaſt Interruption. He diſcourſed at ſeveral Hours, for four days together, with ſo much Admiration of the Aſſiſtants, and Dexterity on his Part, that all the Biſhops, Abbots, Monks and Prieſts, could have been willing to have been farther off; for he deduced his Anſwer according to the ſeveral Points laid down in that Writing, with ſo much Order and Perſpicuity, that he made his Auditors perceive, that though the Biſhop had writ much, yet he had concluded nothing that could be made uſe of, to the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*, againſt theſe Propoſitions.

This done, *Arnaud* demanded, that ſince the Biſhops and he ſtood ingaged to one another at the beginning of their Conference, to prove their Aſſertions by the Word of God alone, the Biſhops and Prieſts might be commanded to prove the Authority of the Maſs, as it was ſung in Churches, piece by piece, that it was inſtituted by the Son of God, and ſung in the ſame manner by his Apoſtles, beginng at the *Introit*, as they call it, to the *Ite miſſa eſt:* but the Biſhops could not prove that any of thoſe Parts had been inſtituted for that Purpoſe by Chriſt or by his Apoſtles. Here it was that the Biſhops were covered with Shame and Regret, for *Arnaud* had reduced

reduced them to the ſingle Canon, which they pretended was the beſt Piece of the Maſs; where he proved that the Holy Supper of the Lord was not the Maſs, ſaying, that if the Maſs were the Lord's Supper, there would be all after Conſecration, that there was before in the Lord's Supper: Whereas, ſaid he, in your Maſs there is no Bread, for by Tranſubſtantiation the Bread vaniſheth; wherefore the Maſs being without Bread, cannot be the Supper of the Lord, wherein all know there is Bread. Jeſus Chriſt brake Bread, Saint *Paul* brake Bread, the Prieſt breaks the Body, not Bread, therefore the Prieſt neither doth what Jeſus Chriſt, nor what St. *Paul* did. As *Arnaud* was about to proceed in theſe Antitheſes, between the Lord's Supper and the Maſs, to prove that it was neither of Chriſt's nor of the Apoſtles Inſtitution, the Monks, Biſhops, Legats and Prieſts thought fit to withdraw themſelves, being reſolved to hear no more, for fear they might fix Impreſſions on thoſe that were by, which might extreamly ſhake their Belief of the Maſs.

The Monk of *Vaux Cernay* indeavoured to render this Action ſuſpected, in ſaying, that when theſe heretical Judges perceived the Weakneſs of their Cauſe, and the Misfortune of ingaging in ſuch a Diſpute, they refuſed to pronounce any Judgment concerning it, as likewiſe to reſtore us our own Writings, for fear, adds he, they might come to be publiſhed, but reſtored the Hereticks theirs. But how could two of the Pope's Legats, and ſo many Biſhops, Abbots, Monks and Prieſts ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into a Place, there to be thus abuſed and trick'd? The Monk himſelf ſaith in the ſame place, that the Heads of the Hereticks came to meet with the Catholicks at the Caſtle of *Montreal*, to diſpute with them: the Catholicks therefore were in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; there could be therefore no Opportunity of foul Play, nor of any ſuch Violence; neither was it neceſſary, that the Moderators ſhould pronounce their Judgment in a Caſe of Diſpute, ſeeing they hold that no other Judgment is neceſſary, but that of the Pope, who cannot err. Beſides, how could this Monk know that the *Albigenſes* were overcome, ſeeing that no Sentence was given.

Perrin

Perrin could have given us a faithful Extract of this Conference, because himself observes, that it had been brought to him from the *Albigenses*, by Mr. *Rafur*, Minister of the Church of *Montreal*, in an old Manuscript: From whence, though he doth not express it in so many Words, I judg that he reduced the Points in Question between the *Albigenses* and the Church of *Rome*, to six Articles.

I. Article. The Doctrines which they asserted in opposition to the Church of *Rome*, were, That the Church of *Rome* was not the Holy Church, nor the Spouse of Christ, but that it was a Church which had drunk in the Doctrine of Devils; the Whore of *Babylon* which St. *John* describes in the *Revelations*, the Mother of Fornications and Abominations, covered with the Blood of the Saints.

II. That the Mass was neither instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but a humane Invention.

III. That the Prayers of the Living are unprofitable for the Dead.

IV. That the Purgatory maintained in the Church of *Rome*, is no better than a human Invention, to satisfy the Avarice of the Priests.

V. That the Saints ought not to be prayed unto.

VI. That Transubstantiation is a human Invention, and erroneous Doctrine; and that the worshipping of the Bread is manifest Idolatry.

That therefore it was necessary to separate from the Church of *Rome*, in which the contrary was said and taught, because one cannot assist at the Mass, without partaking of the Idolatry there practised, nor expect Salvation by any other means than by Jesus Christ, nor transfer to Creatures the Honour which is due to the Creator; nor say concerning the Bread that it is God, and worship it as such, without incurring the Pain of eternal Damnation, because Idolaters shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. For all these things therefore which they asserted, they have been hated and persecuted to Death.

This Account of the Conference of *Montreal*, which I have copied from *Perrin*, is enough in my Judgment fully to refute any Scruple that might remain in the Mind of a Reader, who

who reads in *Roger Hoveden* the Letters of *Peter* Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, writ in the Year 1178, which teſtify, that the *Manichees* of *Tholouſe* had been convicted by the Confeſſion which many of them had made of the greateſt part of the Articles of that Hereſy. It is very viſible that it was upon the Authority of theſe Letters, or upon ſome Informations of this Nature, that *Alanus*, who was born at *Liſle* in *Flanders*, and who had ſpent the greateſt part of his time at the Univerſity of *Paris*, has built his Catalogue of the Hereſies which he refutes in his Treatiſe againſt the *Albigenſes*, whereof I have given an Extract in the foregoing Chapter.

So that it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe one of theſe three things, Either that the Earl *Raymond* of *Tholouſe*, and thoſe whom he protected, were really *Manichees*, as they are accuſed to be by the Pope's Legats, by the Biſhops, and by *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, who ſets down this Accuſation and the forced Confeſſions of the *Albigenſes*, who own themſelves to be *Manichees*; or that the *Albigenſes* who were the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruys*, and of *Henry*, that were no *Manichees*, had gone over to that Sect towards the End of the 12*th* Century, and afterwards again become *Petrobuſians* and *Henricians* at the Beginning of the 13*th*, as it plainly appears they then were, from the Conference of *Montreal*, where they freely propoſed their Opinions, intirely oppoſite to *Manicheiſm*; or that the Legats and Monks that perſecuted them with Fire and Sword, were great Impoſtors, in taking Advantage againſt them from ſome Confeſſions extorted from *Manichees*, who were here and there ſcattered in thoſe Dioceſſes, and which they made uſe of to animate the People of the Roman Communion, and to ingage the Princes and Biſhops of all places to exterminate without Mercy a ſort of People, who utterly ſubverted all the Rules of Morality, which is the Band of Society, and all the Principles of both natural and Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Reflections on the Convictions of Manicheism, *which were said to be proved upon the* Albigenses.

ONE of the most plausible Objections that can be made against the Purity of the Faith of the *Albigenses*, is the Testimony of the Inquisitors, who have filled their Trials with plain Confessions which several *Albigenses*, judged and condemned by them, have made of sundry Errors of the *Manichees*. I shall produce an Extract of the Acts of the Inquisition of *Tholouse*, which are in the Hands of Mr. *Wetstein* Bookseller at *Amsterdam*, as it was sent me out of *Holland*, and which was made by a Man of great Reputation. " The *Albigenses*, saith " he, held some Opinions, in common with the *Vaudois*; as, " That to a Christian all Oaths are unlawful; that the Con- " fession of Sins, made to the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, " is wholly unprofitable; and that neither the Pope, nor any " one else in the Romish Church, can absolve any Man of " Sin: but that they have power to absolve all those from " their Sins, who will join themselves to their Sect, by the " Laying on of Hands. This last Clause is also laid to the " charge of the *Vaudois*; *viz.* That they have Power from " God alone, as the Apostles had, to hear Confessions both " of Men and Women that believe them; and of imposing " Penance upon such as confess to them, as Fasting, and se- " veral Repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, whereupon they " absolve their Penitents: and that this Absolution and " Penance is as available to the Salvation of their Souls, as " if they had been confessed to their own Priest. (That here " is some wresting or mutilation of the Opinion of the " *Vaudois*, is manifest from the Confession of a certain Wo- " man, who, as we read, declared her Faith to this purpose; " That God alone forgives Sin, and that he to whom Con- " fession of Sins is made, gives only his Advice what the

" Per-

" Perſon ought to do, and ſo enjoins Penance, which any " wiſe and prudent Man may do, whether he be a Prieſt " or no.) That the Opinions of the *Albigenſes* that were " proper to them were, that there be two Lords, the one " Good and the other Evil: That the Body of Chriſt is not " in the Euchariſt, but only meer Bread: That Baptiſm is " of no uſe. One of the *Albigenſes* was ſaid to believe, that " the Baptiſm of Water celebrated by the Church, ſtands In- " fants in no ſtead, becauſe they did not conſent to the " Sacrament, but cried at the receiving of it. (*I believe*, ſaith " he, *who examined theſe Acts*, that they denied Baptiſm " to be the Inſtrument of Regeneration; or perhaps they " might be againſt Infant Baptiſm.) That an external A- " nointing of the Sick, with material Oil, was of no uſe. " That the Orders of the Church of *Rome*, had no Power " of binding and looſing, ſince they themſelves, who con- " ferred them, were great Sinners. That Marriage is al- " ways join'd with Sin, and never can be without Sin, and " that it could never have been inſtituted by the good God. " That our Lord did not aſſume a real humane Body, and " true Fleſh of our Nature, and that he did not truly, but " only in Likeneſs, riſe again in the ſame, and perform the " other Works of our Salvation; and that he never really " aſcended to the right-hand of the Father. They deny the " Reſurrection of the Body; (but in the Declaration of " *Petrus Anterius*, a chief Teacher amongſt them; this is " more clearly and diſtinctly explained; that they feign that " certain ſpiritual Bodies, and a certain internal Man, ſhould " riſe again in ſuch ſort of Bodies. And elſewhere, they " expreſs themſelves, that though the Souls of Men ſhall " come to Judgment, yet they ſhall not come in their own " Bodies). They ſaid, that the Souls of Men were Spirits, " which fell from Heaven for their Sins; ſo that they ſeem " to have believ'd the pre-exiſtence of Souls. Man (they " ſay) muſt not worſhip what he eats. Moreover, it is a- " ſcribed to them, that they believe Man is ſaved, by the " Laying on of Hands, which they confer on their Be-

" lievers, and that by the ſame means, all Sins are forgiven " without Confeſſion and Satisfaction. That they can be- " ſtow the Holy Ghoſt for Salvation, upon thoſe whom they " receive. That the Virgin *Mary* never was a carnal Wo- " man, but their Church, which they ſay is true Repen- " tance, and that this is the Virgin *Mary*. (The very Ob- " ſcurity of theſe Words, ſhews that this Opinion is wreſted ; " becauſe it is better expreſt in another place thus, That " God never entred the Womb of the Bleſſed Virgin *Ma-* " *ry*, and that he only is the Mother, Brother, and Siſter of " God, who keeps the Commandments of God the Father.) " Theſe are ſaid to be the Doctrines of the *Albigenſes*, where- " of none are aſcribed to the *Waldenſes*, but others different " from theſe, whereof we find no mention made in the " Opinions of the *Albigenſes* ; and they are theſe ; That all " Judgment is forbid by God, and that it is contrary to " the divine Prohibition, for any Judg, in any Cauſe " whatſoever, to judg or ſentence any Man to Puniſhment " or Death. That Indulgencies granted by the Prelats of " the Church of *Rome*, are of no uſe or efficacy. That " there is no Purgatory for Souls after this Life ; and that " conſequently the Prayers and Suffrages of Believers for " the Dead, are of no uſe to them. That the Soul when " it departs from the Body, goes either to Paradiſe or Hell. " That there are no more than three Orders in the Church, of " Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.

From theſe Acts, it appears how much the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Albigenſes* differed from thoſe practis'd by the *Vaudois*. " Beſides, *ſaith the Author of the Extract*, the " Rites and Inſtitutions of them both were very different. " Of the *Albigenſes* there were two Sorts, ſome who pro- " feſſed their Faith and Rites, and they were called *perfect* or " *comforted* : others who had entred into a Covenant with " the former Sort, called *Perfect*, which they call *la Conve-* " *nenza*, the Agreement, that at the end of their Life, they " ſhould be received by them into their Sect. This Re- " ception is frequently called by them Exerciſe, and is per-

" formed

" formed in this manner; *The* Benedicite *or the* Bleſſing *con-*
" *ferred upon one* Molinerius *when he was ſick. Bernard*
" *Goes* one of the *Albigenſes*, held the Hands of the ſick
" Perſon between his own Hands; and beſides, held a cer-
" tain Book over him, wherein he read the Goſpel of St. *John*,
" *In the Beginning was the Word*; and deliver'd to the ſick Per-
" ſon a fine Thread to tie about him as a Mark that he
" was admitted into their Hereſy: upon ſome others it is
" ſaid, that they laid a white Linen Cloath, and be-
" ſides that many Genuflections were performed by the
" Bed-ſide. This Reception was ſuppoſed to ſave the Soul
" of him who was received, and was call'd a Spiritual Bap-
" tiſm or Conſolation, a Reception, and a good End, and
" ſometimes a Melioration, by means of which they be-
" liev'd that the Perſon was ſanctified; ſo that it was not
" lawful for a Woman to touch any one that was thus
" received. Now, becauſe it might ſometime happen that
" the Perſon thus received, after his recovery, might relapſe
" into his former Defilements, therefore they always de-
" ferr'd this Reception till the extreameſt Weakneſs, when
" there was no longer hopes of Life, for fear they might
" afterward loſe the Good they had received. For which
" reaſon alſo ſome ſick Perſons amongſt them, though the
" Perſon who thus initiated them was already come, yet
" were not received, becauſe they were not believed to be
" at the point of Death. But they who were thus received
" in their Sickneſs, were commanded to put themſelves up-
" on Hardſhip, that is, to haſten their own Death, by ab-
" ſtaining from all Meat: and there are ſeveral Examples
" of thoſe, who are ſaid to have kill'd themſelves, not only
" with Faſting, but by opening of a Vein, wounding of them-
" ſelves, yea and ſometimes too, by drinking Poiſon. But
" others who had no mind to ſubmit themſelves to ſo hard
" a Law, refuſed to be received, though this their Teacher
" was come for that purpoſe. They had alſo a peculiar Way
" of ſaluting, by way of embracing one another, laying
" their Hands on each ſide of one another, and turning their

" Head to both Shoulders, saying each time *Benedicite:* which " kind of Salutation seems to have been usual amongst them, " because it is to be met with in several Accounts of their " Opinions; and sometimes it was perform'd with bended " Knees, sometimes with their Hands let down to the " Ground. Which Salutation was sometimes call'd *Melio-* " *ration.* Neither did they only require this Salutation from " those who were received, but from them also who " were called *Perfect* amongst them, and received others, " observed the same way of Salutation. We read also in " many of their Books, that such a one did *eat of the Bles-* " *sed Bread of the Hereticks*; and in some it is added, *And saw* " *the Manner of blessing it*; but what that Manner was, is " no where described, neither is any Circumstance added, " from whence it might be gathered, whether they bless'd " the common Bread at their Dinners and Suppers, or whe- " ther this was only a Ceremony used by them at the ce- " lebrating of the Lord's Supper. Though it is added in " one place, that they call this blessed Bread, the Bread of " Prayer. Three days in the Week they keep a Fast with " Bread and Water. But we do not read that any of these " things were observed by the *Waldenses*, but what was vast- " ly different, as, That they had some Elders of their own: " That even Lay-men bless the Table before and after Meat; " they pray kneeling, and bowing themselves to the Ground. " It is usual for them to bless the Table. They profess to " observe Apostolical Poverty. And besides, they are said " to differ from the common Conversation of other Believers " in their Life and Manners. These are the chief things " we meet with in this Book concerning the *Albigenses* and " *Waldenses*; for there is no mention made of the Opinions " of any other Party. This is the Extract which was sent me, with some Passages, wherein the Author gives his own Judgment.

One would think, that nothing could be of greater force to convict the *Albigenses* of *Manicheism*, especially if we consider, that *Emericus* in his Directory for the Inquisitors, ascribes

aſcribes almoſt the very ſame Opinions to the *Manichees* of *Italy*. Par. 2. cap. 14.

But I have three Things to ſay, to take off this Prejudice; the firſt is, That nothing ought to be more ſuſpected by us than theſe Acts of the Inquiſition; for he that is a Murtherer, is certainly a Liar and a Knave. I have ſhewed in my *Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Valleys of* Piedmont, that nothing can be conceived more falſe than the Carriage of the Inquiſitors, and that they never pretended to any thing leſs than to Faithfulneſs in their Accounts of things.

This appears from the Trials of the *Waldenſes*, whom the Monks have indeavoured to make the moſt infamous Hereticks; and yet in the mean time, if we will believe the Biſhop of *Meaux*, they were very far from being *Manichees*. What Authority therefore can the Teſtimonies of the Inquiſitors have againſt the *Albigenſes*, ſince the Biſhop himſelf acknowledges that they can be of no Authority againſt the *Waldenſes*, who have been no leſs accuſed of *Manicheiſm*, than the *Albigenſes* themſelves?

Now that the Reader may be throughly convinced of the Juſtice of this our denying to admit theſe Teſtimonies of the Inquiſitors, and *Emericus* in particular, I might alledg here what *Emericus* hath ſaid of the *Eternal Goſpel*, attributed commonly to *John* of *Crema*, the ſeventh General of the *Cordeliers*. This Book contained the moſt horrid Propoſitions imaginable, and yet now it is pretended, that he was overborn by a Cabal of the Inquiſition, and they indeavour to juſtify him againſt all the Accuſations of *Emericus*. But I can do more than this, for I have received from a Friend of Mr. *G.* Advocate of *N.* an Extract of the Acts of the Inquiſition of *Thoulouſe*, which may ſerve as a Pattern to judg of their other Trials, which are found in that Regiſter, where there is ſcarce any thing of theſe Accuſations: The Extract runs thus: *Anno Domini* 1283. 8° *Idûs Julii, Guilhelmus de Maunhaco filius quondam Guilhelmi Arloyer de Maunhaco Dioceſis Anicienſis, eductus de carcere Inquiſitorum conſtitutus in præſentiâ fratris Joannis Vigoroſi, ordinis Prædicatorum, Inquiſitoris hæreticæ pravitatis, requiſitus per* Natalis Alexander ſæcul. xiii, & xiv. pag. 322, 323.

per dictum Inquisitorem quod juraret ad sancta Dei Evangelia, ut veritatem diceret de fide suâ, respondit, quod non juraret: Inquisitus, si erat ei licitum jurare super sancta Dei Evangelia, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si Papa Ecclesiæ Romanæ Dominus Martinus qui nunc est, habet potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si Ecclesia Romana, cui præest Papa, sit caput fidei, respondit, quod nec Papa, nec Ecclesia cui præest, est caput fidei, nec Christianitatis, nec agnoscit, nec credit aliquem hominem carnalem esse Papam nisi Iesum Christum. Inquisitus si Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, & alii Ecclesiarum Prælati per Romanam Ecclesiam ordinati sunt veri Prælati, & si habent potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si aliquis baptizatur, ita quod baptizans dicat, Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs sancti, Amen, valeat baptizato, & si per talem Baptismum habet remissionem peccatorum, respondit, quod non credit, quod aliquis carnalis homo possit baptizare nisi solus Deus. Inquisitus si Sacramentum confirmationis quod confert Episcopus quando confirmat, valet confirmato, respondit, quod nihil valet ei, nec Sacramentum est, nec ille qui confert Sacramentum est Episcopus, nec aliquid potest. Inquisitus si Sacramentum extremæ Unctionis valet infirmo, quando ei ministratur à Sacerdote, respondit, quod non credit quod valeat ei, nec quod sit Sacramentum. Inquisitus si Sacramentum ordinis collatum ab Episcopo valet aliquid, & si est Sacramentum, respondit, quod nihil valet, nec est Sacramentum, nec Episcopus potest aliquod Sacramentum conferre. Inquisitus si panis quem Sacerdos tenet in manibus suis dum celebrat, postquam sacerdos protulit verba consecrationis, Hoc est corpus meum, remanet panis; respondit, quod panis erat ante, & panis remanet post, & quod magna injuria fit Deo, quod panis commutetur in corpus Christi. Inquisitus si verba sacerdotis absolventis aliquem ei confessum de peccatis, dicendo, Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis, valent confesso; respondit, quod nihil valent confesso, nec est Sacramentum. Inquisitus si est licitum jurare super sancta Dei Evangelia in aliquo casu, dixit quod non. Inquisitus si Rex Franciæ qui nunc est, comburit vel facit comburi aliquem pro crimine Hæresis, vel facit suspendi aliquem pro aliquo crimine, peccet, respondit, quod peccat, nec est ei licitum facere vindictam nec justitiam. Item requisitus si vult credere Sacramenta Ecclesiæ Romanæ

mana ſicut nos credimus, & ſicut Eccleſia Romana prædicat & obſervat, reſpondit, quod nihil aliud crederet niſi quod ſuperius dixit. Hæc depoſuit Tholoſæ coram fratre Laurentio Aurelianenſi, & dicto fratre Johanne Vigoroſo Inquiſitore, in præſentiâ & teſtimonio fratris Arnaldi Del Gras, fratris Bertrandi Jacobi, & fratris Raymundi Navarrii ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum, & Juliani Vaſconi publici Tholoſæ Notarii, qui hæc ſcripſit. " In the Year of our Lord 1283, the " 8th of the Ides of *July*, *William* of *Maunhaco*, formerly the " Son of *William Arloyer* of *Maunhaco*, of the Dioceſs of " *Anecy*, being brought out of the Priſon of the Inquiſitors, " and ſet in the Preſence of Brother *John Vigoroſus*, of the " Order of Preachers, an Inquiſitor of heretical Pravity, " being demanded by the ſaid Inquiſitor to ſwear by the Holy " Goſpels, that he would declare the Truth concerning his " Faith: he anſwered, that he would not ſwear. Being de- " manded, whether it were lawful for him to ſwear upon the " Holy Goſpels? he anſwered, No. Being demanded, whe- " ther Lord *Martin*, the preſent Pope of the Church of *Rome*, " hath the Power of binding and looſing: he anſwered, No. " Being demanded, whether the Church of *Rome*, over " which the Pope preſides, be the Head of the Faith? he " anſwered, That neither the Pope, nor the Church he preſides " over, is Head of the Faith, or of the Chriſtian World: " neither doth he own or believe that any carnal Man can be " Pope, but only Jeſus Chriſt. Being demanded, whether " Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of Churches, " ordained by the Church of *Rome*, were true Prelates, and " whether they have the Power of binding and looſing? he an- " ſwered, No. Being demanded, whether if any one be bap- " tized, the Baptizer ſaying, I baptize thee in the Name of " the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, *Amen*; " whether this be of Efficacy to the Party baptized; and " whether by ſuch Baptiſm he can obtain Remiſſion of his " Sins? he anſwered, That he did not believe that any car- " nal Man can baptize, but God alone. Being demanded, " whether the Sacrament of Confirmation, which the Biſhop " confers, be of any Uſe to the Perſon confirmed? he an-

" ſwered,

" ſwered, That it was of no Uſe at all; neither is it a Sacra-
" ment; neither is he who conſers it a Biſhop, nor hath the
" Power to do any thing. Being demanded, whether the
" Sacrament of extream Unction, be of any Uſe to the
" Sick, when it is adminiſtred to him by a Prieſt? he anſwer-
" ed, That he did not believe that it did him any good, or
" that it is a Sacrament. Being demanded, whether the Sa-
" crament of Orders conferred by the Biſhop, were of any
" Uſe, and whether it be a Sacrament? he anſwered, That
" it is of no Uſe; neither is it a Sacrament; neither can
" a Biſhop conſer any Sacrament. Being demanded, whe-
" ther the Bread which the Prieſt holds in his Hands,
" whilſt he celebrates, after he hath pronounced the
" Words of Conſecration, *This is my Body*, ſtill remains
" Bread? he anſwered, That it was Bread before, and con-
" tinued Bread ſtill, and that it was a great Injury to God,
" to ſay that the Bread is changed into the Body of Chriſt.
" Being examined, whether the Words of a Prieſt, where-
" by he abſolves one that hath confeſſed his Sins, ſay-
" ing, *I abſolve thee of all thy Sins*, be of any Uſe to the
" Party confeſſed? he anſwered, That they were of no
" Uſe, neither is it a Sacrament. Being examined, whe-
" ther it be lawful to ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels of
" God, in any Caſe? he anſwered, No. Being examin-
" ed, whether the King of *France* that now is, by burning,
" or cauſing any one to be burnt for the Crime of Here-
" ſy, or by hanging any other Criminal, doth Sin? he
" anſwered, He doth; and that it is not lawful for him to
" execute Vengeance, or do Juſtice. Alſo being examined,
" whether he was willing to believe the Sacraments of the
" Church of *Rome*, as we believe, and as the Church of
" *Rome* preaches and obſerves? he anſwered, That he be-
" lieves nothing but what he had ſaid before. Theſe things
" he depoſed at *Tholouſe*, before Brother *Laurence* of *Orleans*,
" and the foreſaid Brother *John Vigoroſus* the Inquiſitor; in
" the Preſence of the Witneſſes Brother *Arnold Del Gras*,
" Brother *Bertrand James*, and Brother *Raymond Navarr*, of
" the

" the Order of Friars Preachers; and of *Julian Vaſcon*, pub-
" lick Notary of *Tholouſe*, who wrote this.

The Letter which Mr. *G.* writ to my Friend, concluded with theſe Words. " I muſt not forget to tell you, that accord-
" ing to my Copy, the *Albigenſes* ſaid of themſelves, that
" they were *de illis qui non reddebant malum pro malo, of thoſe*
" *who did not render Evil for Evil*; that *boni homines, good Men*
" were their Miniſters. The Formality they obſerved when
" they made a Proſelyte, was this, *Hæreticaverunt eum ponentes*
" *librum & manus ſuper caput ejus, & interrogantes eum ſi volebat*
" *ſe reddere Deo & Evangelio. They made him a Heretick by lay-*
" *ing a Book, and their Hands upon his Head, and asking him, whe-*
" *ther he were willing to ſurrender himſelf to God and the Goſpel?*
" I have obſerved from ſeveral Paſſages, that on this occa-
" ſion they were uſed to read more particularly the Goſpel
" according to St. *John*, and that after theſe Solemnities the
" Proſelytes *adorabant dictos bonos homines, flexis ter genibus, di-*
" *cendo, Benedicite*; *Hæreticis reſpondentibus, Deus vos benedicat*;
" Paid their Reverence to theſe good Men, by thrice bend-
" ing of the Knee, ſaying, *Give us your Bleſſing*: the Here-
" ticks anſwering, *God bleſs you.* The Inquiſitors call the
" Proſelytes and thoſe that are born *Albigenſes, Hereticks.*

It is eaſy to judg by this Specimen, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give any Credit to the Depoſition of Inquiſitors, concerning the Matters, which they ſay, they have made the *Albigenſes* confeſs; and that therefore this pretended Conviction of the *Albigenſes*, by the Regiſters of the Inquiſitors, is abſolutely null.

The ſecond thing that I am to repreſent to the Reader, is, that the Teſtimony of the Inquiſitors cannot be ſet againſt the contrary Confeſſions of the *Albigenſes*, which thoſe who have read, find very conformable to the Faith of the Proteſtants. This is that which *Paradin* affirms in his Annals of *Burgundy*, where he confeſſes that he has read ſome Hiſtories, which excuſe the *Albigenſes*, with their Princes and Lords, of all thoſe Crimes which many have caſt upon them, affirming them to be wholly innocent, as having never done any thing elſe, but

reprove the Vices and Abuſes of the Prelats of the Church of *Rome*.

This is alſo acknowledged by *James de Ribera*, in his Collections concerning the City of *Tholouſe*. " In theſe times " there were frequent Diſputes held with the Hereticks ſeve- " ral times at *Viride Folium*, and at *Pamiers*; but the famous " Diſputation was at *Montreal*, where two Noble-men were " choſen Arbitrators, *Bernardus de Villa nova*, and *Bernardus* " *Arrenſis*; and two of the Commons, *Raimond Godins*, and " *Arnoldus Ribera*; but they who were accounted Here- " ticks, could not agree about any thing; the Names of " the chiefeſt of them were theſe, *Ponticus Jordanus*, *Ar-* " *noldus Auriſanus*, *Arnoldus Othonus*, *Philibertus Caſtienſis*, " *Benedictus Thermus*. They all conſtantly affirmed, that " the Church of *Rome* was not the Holy Church, nor the " Spouſe of Chriſt, but a Church that had imbibed the " Doctrine of Devils; that ſhe was that *Babylon* which St. " *John* deſcribes in the Revelation, the Mother of Forni- " cations and Abominations, cover'd over with the Blood " of the Saints: That what the Church of *Rome* approved " of, was not approved by the Lord: That the Maſs was " neither inſtituted by Chriſt, nor by his Apoſtles, but was " meerly a human Invention.

Catal. Teſtium veritat. pag. 446.

The ſame hath been owned by *Carolus Molineus* the Glory of the Bar of *France*, who declares that the *Albigenſes* of *Provence* taught this very thing expreſly, in the Reign of *Lewis* XII, which was afterwards taught by thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *France*. This Teſtimony is alledged by *Camerarius* in his Hiſtorical Account of the Brethren of *Bohemia*. This obliged *Vignier*, in his *Hiſtorical Library*, to contemn all the Calumnies caſt upon the *Albigenſes*. In his Account of the year 1206, he relates, that a *Gaſcon*, a Man of Reputation, aſſured him, that he had read one of their Confeſſions in the old *Gaſcon* Language, which was preached before the late Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, a little before the ſecond Troubles of *France*, which had not one word of theſe Opinions, but only thoſe Articles, which we formerly a-

ſcribed

ſcribed to the *Waldenſes*. Amongſt which they expreſly declared, that they received the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, and that they rejected every Doctrine that was not grounded upon, or authorized by them, or was contrary to any one Point of Doctrine that may be found there. According to which Maxim, they confeſſed that they rejected and condemned all the Ceremonies, Traditions, and Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, which they declared to be a Den of Thieves, and the Whore that is ſpoken of in the *Revelation*. Upon which account alſo, the Colloquies, Diſputes, and Conferences, which the Legats of the Pope, and their Commiſſioners, had together, were only upon theſe Points, as we ſhall prove by the Teſtimony of *James de Ribera*, in his Book entituled, *His Collections about the City of Tholouſe*. Collectanea Tholoſæ.

The third Thing that we are to obſerve, is, that this Conformity of Faith between the *Waldenſes* and the *Albigenſes*, has made many People take them for the very ſame.

I ſuppoſe there is no Reader that is ever ſo little juſt, but will allow me to make a very great difference between the Accounts of the Inquiſitors, and the Truth. The Inquiſitors make the *Albigenſes* guilty of the Errors of the *Cathari* and *Manichees*, as if they had been all one, and that they had exactly anſwered the Deſcription which is given us of them in the Directory of the Inquiſitors, by *Emericus*. But we have other ways of knowing, from their own Confeſſions of Faith, that they were not at all polluted by *Manicheiſm*; and the moſt part of thoſe Authors, that have writ with any degree of Honeſty, call them *Waldenſes*, becauſe they held the ſame Faith and Opinions. Par. 2. p. 13.

The ſame Authors acknowledg, that it was againſt the *Waldenſes* that St. *Bernard* preached in *Languedock*; and that it is with them, whom they promiſcuouſly call *Albigenſes*, that thoſe Conferences were held, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* owns to have been held with the *Albigenſes*. This is acknowledged by *James de Ribera* Counſellor of State, in his *Collections concerning the City of* Tholouſe, that are ſet down

in the Catalogue *of the Witneſſes of the Truth.* This is owned by *Gretzer* the Jeſuit, in his Prolegomena to the Authors who have written concerning the Sect of the *Waldenſes*, where he acknowledgeth that the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* were the ſame, and were called *inſabbatati*, becauſe of their Shoes: And that the *Albigenſes* and *Waldenſes* differ only in their Names. Cardinal *Hoſius* alſo had the ſame Notion of them, in his Book concerning the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, where he ſpeaks of the *Henricians* and *Petrobuſians.* This was the Opinion of *Andrew Favin* in his Hiſtory of *Navarre*, where he ſaith, that the Hereſy of the *Albigenſes*, is otherwiſe termed the Hereſy of the *Waldenſes.* *Genebrard* in his Chronology ſaith expreſly, that the Fathers of the *Calviniſts* were the *Petrobuſians*, the *Henricians*, and the *Albigenſes*; and it is well known, that the *Calviniſts* are no *Manichees.* *Catel* in his Hiſtory of *Tholouſe*, acknowledgeth that the *Henricians* were the Forerunners of the *Albigenſes*, and that they had not this Name till after the Council of *Alby*, in the year 1178.

P. 445. of the *Strasburg* Edition in 1562.

Lib. 2. pag. 221, & 231.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Whether the Albigenſes *were* Manichees, *becauſe they accuſed the Pope of being the Antichriſt.*

AS one Day gives Light to another, ſo the Biſhop of *Meaux* hath at laſt diſcover'd that the Accuſation charged upon the Pope by the *Albigenſes*, as being the Antichriſt, was a Character of *Manicheiſm*. He thought fit to reveal this great Secret to the World, in his *Hiſtory of the Variations*, and afterwards he makes it an expreſs Character of *Manicheiſm*, in his Explication of the Revelation. But ſaving the Reverence due to this Prelate, there is nothing falſer, nothing that ſeems more to be raving.

For, 1. Hath he found this Character of the *Manichees* in the Writings of *Archelaus* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia*, which the late Mr. *Bigoſa* hath communicated to the Publick; or in St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who confutes the *Manichees* in his Catechetick Lectures?

2. Hath he found any thing like it in the Writings of St. *Epiphanius*, who hath given us ſo large a Catalogue of their Hereſies?

3. Hath he found any thing to this purpoſe in St. *Auguſtin*, who hath writ ſo many Books againſt theſe Madmen; or in St. *Leo*, in his Epiſtle to *Turribius* Biſhop of *Tarracon?*

4. Hath he found any ſuch thing in the Treatiſe of *Predeſtinatus* concerning Hereſies, publiſhed by *Sirmondus?*

5. Hath he found this Character of the *Manichees* in any of thoſe Authors that have written ſince, as in *Iſidore* of *Sevill*, in *Johannes Damaſcenus*, in the *Catalogue of Hereſies*, publiſhed by *Cotelerius?*

6. Hath he found any thing to this purpoſe in *Petrus Siculus*, who lived in the 9*th* Century, and who converſed and diſputed

Hiſtoria de ortu, progreſſu, & occaſu Manichæorum. Bibl. Patr. Edit. Lugd. Tom. 16.

diſputed at *Tibrica* with the *Manichees*, whoſe Opinions he ſets down?

All the *Greek* Authors which ſpeak of the *Manichees*, before and after the *9th* Century, and all the *Latin* Authors, without ſo much as excepting one only, know of no ſuch thing; who could therefore diſcover this Character of *Manicheiſm* to the Biſhop?

We muſt conclude that the Biſhop, who hath made a Diſcovery which none of the Antients, no nor Modern Writers neither, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, have been able to make, muſt have had it from the Revelation of ſome Angel, *albus an ater neſcio*; ſince he ſpeaks ſo very poſitively of this new Character of the *Manichees*.

But, ſaith he, the caſe is plain, the *Albigenſes* were *Manichees*, and they called the Pope the Antichriſt, and with an invincible Obſtinacy have maintain'd that this Title belongs to him; wherefore it muſt follow, that this Accuſation of the Pope muſt be a Character of *Manicheiſm*.

If the Biſhop had reflected never ſo little upon what he here aſſerts, this ſingle Character of the *Albigenſes*, who accuſed the Pope of being the Antichriſt, would have made him draw a quite contrary Conſequence, that is to ſay, that the *Albigenſes* could not be *Manichees*.

For it is moſt certain, that the *Manichees* never taught any ſuch thing; this Hereſy which ſprung up in the Eaſt, never attack'd the Biſhop of *Rome* in particular, but the whole Body of Chriſtians, who received the Books of the Old Teſtament, and who owned the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to be the Creator of the World.

But whence comes it then, may ſome ſay, that the *Albigenſes* have peculiarly affected to call the Pope Antichriſt? which certainly muſt be look'd upon a Character of the *Albigenſes*, unleſs we ſhould find it to be a Character of the *Manichees*, as the Biſhop of *Meaux* pretends.

The queſtion would not have been ſo difficult to reſolve, had not the Biſhop affected to appear ignorant in a Queſtion which he ought to have enquired into, ſince he hath undertaken to handle it in a Commentary on purpoſe.

In

In a word, *France*, which firſt beſtowed upon the Popes the temporal Dominions they now enjoy, long ſince owned the Pope to be the Antichriſt. For *Gregory* I, having declared in twelve ſeveral Letters written againſt the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who aſſumed the Title of Univerſal Biſhop, that whoever claimed that Title for himſelf, was either the Antichriſt, or the Forerunner of him: It was not long after, that Pope *Boniface* III, perſuaded *Phocas* to give him the Title of Univerſal, which all his Succeſſors took up afterwards with joy, and affected to uſe it: For which reaſon the *French*, fearing leſt they ſhould fail of the reſpect which they had for St. *Gregory*, if they ſhould accuſe themſelves of having ſo often made uſe of a falſe Way of reaſoning, at laſt called the Pope Antichriſt.

They were not therefore *Manichees* that were come from the Eaſt, in the 11*th* Century, to ſettle themſelves in the Weſt, who firſt ſet on foot this Accuſation: but they were the *French*, who in a full Council at *Rheims*, after the 10*th* Century, called the Pope Antichriſt.

Seguinus Archbiſhop of *Sens*, having maintained that *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Rheims*, could not be depoſed without the conſent of the Pope; *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Orleans*, who had the greateſt Reputation of any Man of his Time, ſolidly maintained from the Canons and Cuſtoms of the Church, that the Pope's Sentence was not to be waited for in that Caſe; *Ab eo reſponſa petere, marmora conſulere eſt*; "To deſire an Anſwer "from him, is to conſult the Stones; ſpeaking to the Aſſembly of the Council. He further ſaith, "Who do you "think that Man is, who ſits in his high Chair? he is, an- "ſwers he, the Antichriſt, who ſits in the Temple of God, "and ſhews himſelf as God. And the reſt of his Diſcourſe is a ſufficient Evidence, that he took the Pope to be the Antichriſt, and that he acknowledged that the Myſtery of Iniquity was then coming in upon the Church. It was *Gerbertus*, afterwards Pope, that digeſted the Acts of that Council, and who in an Epiſtle to *Seguinus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, makes it appear, that in his time they were not much concerned for the Pope's Excommunications, and that it was not pretended that

that he was the Center of Christian Communion. *Non est ergo* (says he) *dandâ occasio nostris æmulis, ne Sacerdotium quod ubique unum est, sicut Ecclesia una est, ita uni subjici videatur, ut eo pecuniâ, gratiâ, metu, vel ignorantiâ corrupto, nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem hæ virtutes commendaverint:* "We ought not "therefore to give an Opportunity to our Rivals, lest the "Priesthood, which is every-where one and the same, as the "Church is one, should come to be so subjected to one, as "that he being corrupted with Money, Favour, Fear, or "Ignorance, no Man should be able to obtain that Order, "except he had these Vertues to recommend him. Here we see the true Stile of the *Albigenses*, before ever any *Manichee* was come from the East into *France*.

Now after this was once set on foot, it was maintained from Century to Century, by those who were brought up, and that died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. It would be an easy matter to give a Catalogue of those who have spoke at this rate, to show what heed there is to be given to the most positive Assertions of the Bishop of *Meaux*.

If the Bishop of *Meaux*, in the least desired to undeceive himself, he need only read what *Aventinus* says in his An-
Lib. 6. nals of *Bavaria*, of Pope *Gregory* VII, who there is termed Antichrist, by Persons who were very far from being *Manichees*: he need only read in the Acts of the Life of *Paschal* II, what the Bishop of *Florence* openly preached con-
Cent. 12. *Magdeburg.* cerning this Matter; or to read in the Life of *Richard* I, written by *Roger Hoveden*, what Abbot *Joachim* maintained before *Richard* I, without being ever accused of *Manicheism*; or he may take notice in *Matthew Paris*, upon the year 1253, what Notions *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, one of the greatest Bishops of his time, maintained: or he may peruse
Lib. 1. cap. 41. the Revelations of St. *Brigit*, and the 16*th* Epistle of *Petrarch*, in his second Tome. And yet never were any of these Persons accus'd of *Manicheism*. But this has been treated of at large already by *Wolfius* in his *Various Lections*; and besides, this would lead us too far from the Subject we are upon at present.

I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with obſerving three things concerning this matter.

The *1ſt* is, That nothing was more common with the Popes and Anti-Popes, than mutually to brand each other with the Title of Antichriſt: And the Writers of both Parties kept always cloſe to this Stile, and yet all of them lived and died in the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, and never were thought to be the Diſciples of the *Manichees*.

2dly, That there are many Authors, and even ſeveral of thoſe that have been canonized, who have made uſe of the ſame Notions, in ſpeaking and writing of the Church of *Rome*, and yet none have ever condemned them of *Manicheiſm*.

The *3d* is, That ever ſince the Reformation, though the Biſhop pretends that the Prophecy concerning the Beaſt hath been already fulfilled; there is ſcarcely (if you except the Biſhop) any one Popiſh Author, who doth not own that *Rome* is to be the Seat of Antichriſt.

What I ſay now, deſerves to be conſidered, becauſe in the Year 1516, *December* the *19th*, in the *11th* Seſſion of the *Lateran* Council, under *Leo* X, in whoſe time *Luther* began to preach, we find that there was a Prohibition againſt handling the Queſtion of Antichriſt in the Pulpit, though under the Pretence of advancing ſome new Revelation concerning it, without having obtained leave from the Holy See, or from the Biſhop. The Words of the Canon which oblige all thoſe who ſhould ever undertake to preach on this Subject, are theſe: "And we command all who bear this Charge, or "who ſhall bear it for the future, that they preach and explain the Evangelical Truth, and the Holy Scripture, according to the Expoſition and Interpretation of thoſe "Doctors, whom the Church or long Tradition has approved, and has hitherto allowed to be read, or which ſhall "be ſo for time to come, without adding any thing that is "contrary to, or diſagreeing from the proper ſenſe of them, "but that they always inſiſt upon ſuch Matters as do not diſagree with the Words of the Scripture, nor with the Interpretations of the foreſaid Doctors. Neither let them pre-

" ſume to fix in their Sermons any certain time of the Evils " to come, of the coming of Antichriſt, or of the Day of " Judgment; foraſmuch as Truth aſſures us, that it is not for " us to know the Times and Seaſons. Moreover, if the " Lord ſhould be pleaſed to reveal to any of them in the " Church of God, future things by ſome Inſpiration, as he " hath promiſed by the Prophet *Amos*; and ſeeing the Apo- " ſtle *Paul* ſaith, *Deſpiſe not Prophecying*, &c. we will not have " ſuch as theſe reckoned amongſt Impoſtors and Liars, or " that they ſhall be any ways hindred: But becauſe it is a " matter of great Moment, and that we are not upon light " Grounds to believe every Spirit, but are to try them whe- " ther they be of God; we command that by a conſtant Law " any ſuch aſſerted Inſpirations, before they be publiſhed or " preached to the People, be henceforward underſtood to be " reſerved to the Examination of the Apoſtolical See: but in " Caſe this cannot be done without the Danger of too long " a Delay, or that urgent Neceſſity ſhould otherwiſe per- " ſwade; then obſerving the ſame Order, it may be ſignified " to the Ordinary of the place, who taking along with him " three or four learned and grave Men, and diligently exa- " mining the matter with them, if they ſee it expedient " (which we charge upon their Conſciences) they may grant " them Liberty: but whoſoever preſumes to commit any " thing contrary to the Premiſes, ſhall incur Excommunicati- " on, from the which he ſhall not be abſolved but by the Pope " himſelf; that ſo by their Example others may be deterred " from preſuming to do any ſuch thing, for which Reaſon we " decree that they be for ever made incapable of the Office " of Preaching, any Priviledges whatſoever to the contrary " notwithſtanding, *&c.*

'Tis not our Buſineſs to examine the Queſtion, whether the Biſhop of *Meaux* hath exactly followed the Rules that this Canon preſcribes, in his Explication of the Scripture, and eſpecially about the matter of Antichriſt, though they be Rules by which Biſhops are no leſs bound, than the meaneſt Divines. It may be the Church of *Rome* finds the Biſhop's new Syſtem ſo much for her Intereſt, that it inclines her to

ſuſpend

ſuſpend the Severity of her Canons, in Favour of a Perſon, who has ſo dexterouſly pluck'd a Thorn out of her Foot, which hath troubled her ſo long, and which hath always cauſed new Pains to her, as oft as any of her Doctors have indeavoured to pluck it out.

But I fear I have inſiſted too long upon ſo vain a Conjecture, and which ſcarce deſerved to be confuted. There are able Men of the Church of *Rome*, who have taken the Pains to refute the Conjecture of ſome *Papiſts* who would needs have *Mahomet* to be the Antichriſt: This was the *Chimæra* of *Annius* of *Viterbo*, a Monk famous for his Impoſtures; this likewiſe was the Whimſy of *Fevardentius* and ſome others, whom *Pererius* the Jeſuit hath refuted ſo ſolidly, as that he has put the Biſhop of *Meaux* to the trouble of inventing a new Syſtem to oppoſe the *Proteſtants*. I hope his Syſtem will meet with the ſame Deſtiny amongſt his own Party, that ſo the Proteſtants may not be put to the trouble of giving it a formal Confutation. For indeed, though the Politicks of the Church of *Rome* do bear with ſeveral Opinions that differ from the common Hypotheſes of their Society, yet the Divines of that Party are not patient enough to diſſemble the Diſlike they have to ſee their old Opinions which have been maintained for ſeveral Ages, trod under-foot. The Biſhop himſelf has an Example hereof, which he cannot well have forgot in the Perſon of Cardinal *Capizucchi*, who having given his Approbation to the Expoſition of the *Romiſh* Faith, made by the Biſhop of *Meaux*, in which he ſweetens the Worſhip of Images ſo very much, for Fear of incenſing the Proteſtants, whom he deſigned to bring over to his own Side, was not wanting ſome Years after to publiſh a Treatiſe, wherein he ſhews that he gave that Approbation, only upon the Account of Reaſon of State, and not becauſe he ſincerely approved the way which the Biſhop had taken to make the Worſhip of Images appear more tolerable to the Proteſtant Party.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Morals of the Albigenſes, *and of their Eccleſiaſtical Government.*

HAving thus juſtified the *Albigenſes*, as to their Doctrine and Worſhip, it is time now to proceed to ſhew the Regularity of their Diſcipline, by repreſenting the Nature of their Church-Government, and Conduct of thoſe Churches in matters that related to their Manners. This will not be a matter of any Difficulty; for it is eaſily conceived that theſe Dioceſſes being ſtored with People, who maintained the Doctrine of *Berengarius*, as the Abbot of *Tron* tells us, they had a great Party of the Clergy at the Head of them. I do not ſay this without good Grounds; for *1ſt*, We ſee that in the Councils held againſt *Berengarius*, there were very great Conteſts about this Matter, and that the oppoſite Party carried their Point only by down-right Violence. *2dly*, That according to the Teſtimony of *Sigebert*, if many Perſons wrote againſt *Berengarius*, many alſo wrote in favour of him, and who can doubt of their being Church-men? *3dly*, That his own Biſhop *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Angers*, where he was Archdeacon, declared himſelf for him. *4thly*, That in *Aquitain* in the Year 1075, *Giraldus* Legat of Pope *Gregory* VII, was obliged to call a Council at *Poictiers*, where *Berengarius* narrowly eſcaped being murthered, as we are aſſured by the Chronicle of St. *Maixant*, the Circumſtances whereof there ſet down, they that publiſhed it took care to leave out. *5thly*, That five Years after they were obliged to convocate another Council at *Bourdeaux*, where *Berengarius* gave an Account of his Faith, as the ſame Chronicle acquaints us. We ought naturally to obſerve that from the Year 1050, wherein *Berengarius* appeared at *Rome*, where he maintained his Opinions with ſo much Courage, that *Leo* of *Oſtia*, Abbot of *Mont-Caſſin*, owns that there was no Body able to oppoſe him, until the Year 1080,

in

in which the Council of *Bourdeaux* met; the Church of *Rome* could not overthrow *Berengarius*'s Party, though ſhe had imployed by turns, both Councils and Violence, which ſhows that there were amongſt *Berengarius*'s Followers, a conſiderable Party of the Clergy, and of thoſe of *Aquitain* in particular.

Neither was it only this Difference in Point of Doctrine that ſtrengthned the *Berengarian* Party, but alſo the Regulations of Pope *Nicholas* II, and his Succeſſors, and above all thoſe of *Gregory* VII, in the Council of *Rome*, in 1074, and 1075. We may ſee the Effect of his prohibiting Matrimony to Prieſts, as *Sigebert* has recorded it upon the Year 1074. " *Gregory* the Pope, *ſaith he*, at a Synod held by him, anathe- " matiz'd all that came into Preferments by Simony, and re- " moved all married Prieſts from their Functions, and forbad " Laymen to aſſiſt at their Maſſes, by not only an unheard-of " Precedent, but alſo (as ſeveral People thought at that time) " by an inconſiderate Prejudice, contrary to the Opinion of " the Holy Fathers, who have written, that the Sacraments " uſed in the Church, to wit, Baptiſm, Chriſm, and the " Body and Blood of our Lord, have the ſelf-ſame Efficacy " by the ſecret Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, be the Diſ- " penſers of them good or bad. Wherefore then ſince they are " quickned by the Holy Spirit, ſo that they are neither amplified " by the Worthineſs of the good Diſpenſers, nor leſſened by " the Sins of the Wicked, whence is this Man that baptizes? " which thing hath given ſo great occaſion of Scandal, that " never was the Holy Church rent with a more dangerous " Schiſm at any time by a prevailing Hereſy, than it is now, " whilſt ſome act for Righteouſneſs, others againſt it; ſome " openly are guilty of Simony, others cover the Stain of Co- " vetouſneſs with an honeſt Name, ſelling that under the " Name of Charity, which they pretend to give freely, as *Eu-* " *ſebius* ſaith of the *Montaniſts*, whilſt under the Name of " Offerings, they more artificially receive Bribes. By this " means alſo things are brought to that paſs, that there are " very few that practiſe Continence, whilſt ſome make only " an hypocritical Shew of it for Gain and Boaſting; and

" others

" others aggravate their Incontinence by forſwearing themſelves, and by multiplied Adulteries. Beſides, upon this occaſion Laymen riſe up in Rebellion againſt the Holy Orders of the Church, ſhaking off the Yoak of Eccleſiaſtical Subjection; Laymen prophane Holy Myſteries, and diſpute about them, baptize Infants, uſing the filthy Excrement of the Ears inſtead of the Holy Oil and Chriſm; on their Death-Beds they ſcorn to receive at the Hands of married Prieſts the Lord's Proviſion for their laſt Journey, and the uſual Service of Church-Burial. The Tithes that are aſſigned to the Prieſts they conſume with Fire: and that by one horrid Profanation you may make an Eſtimate of the reſt, Laymen have been often ſeen to trample the Body of our Lord, that had been conſecrated by married Prieſts, under their Feet, and wilfully ſpill his Blood upon the ground, and many ſuch things againſt the Laws of God and Man are daily committed in the Church. By this means alſo many falſe Teachers riſe in the Church, who by their prophane Innovations alienate the Minds of the common People from the Diſcipline of the Church.

This therefore was the great occaſion that was given to many of the Clergy and People of *Aquitain*, not to entertain any Communion with the Church of *Rome*, or to ſubmit themſelves to the Yoak which ſhe was preparing for all the Weſtern Churches.

I have in my Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Churches of *Piedmont*, given an Account of the Riſe of the Opinion of thoſe who believed that the Popes Excommunications deprived ſuch as had been duly ordained, of all Power to exerciſe their Functions, and did incapacitate them to confer Orders upon other Miniſters. This was the true Reaſon that made all that maintained the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, look upon the Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, who had thus renounced the Roman Communion, as a Company of Laymen, and to conſider their Ordinations as null. I need not repeat the ſame here, it being ſufficiently confirmed by the Paſſage of *Sigebert*, which I juſt now quoted.

It

It appears therefore that the Diſcipline of the *Albigenſes* was the ſame that had been practiſed in the Primitive Church: They had their Biſhops, their Prieſts and their Deacons, whom the Church of *Rome* at firſt held for Schiſmaticks, and whoſe Miniſtry ſhe at laſt abſolutely rejected, for the ſame Reaſons, that made her conſider the Miniſtry of the *Waldenſes* as null and void. We find in *Peter* the Abbot of *Clugny*, that he reproacheth the *Petrobuſians*, for being join'd with Schiſmaticks; whereas they took the Name of Apoſtolical Men. See how he ſpeaks to them; *Vos Magiſtri Errorum, & cæci duces cæcorum, fæces Hæreſium, & reliquiæ Schiſmaticorum!* O you Maſters of Errors, and blind Leaders of the Blind, the Dregs of Hereticks, and the Relicks of Schiſmaticks! Who were theſe Schiſmaticks but the *Berengarians?* It is manifeſt that Union with the Church of *Rome* being become impoſſible, by reaſon of the Errors ſhe had defined, and the Tyranny ſhe had uſurped over the State and Church: there was even before his time a Separation made of the greateſt Part of the Dioceſſes of *Narbon*, *Tholouſe*, *Agen*, and other places; and that *Peter Bruys* and his Diſciples were of his Party, appears from his 2*d* Epiſtle, which is conſiderable, to this purpoſe. " In " your Parts, *ſaith he*, the People are re-baptized, the " Churches profaned, the Altars overthrown, Croſſes burnt, " and Fleſh eaten on the very Day of our Saviour's Paſſion, " Prieſts are whip'd, Monks impriſoned, and forced by Ter- " rors and Torments to marry. The Heads of which Con- " tagion you have indeed by the Divine Aſſiſtance, and the " Help of Catholick Princes, driven out of your Country; " but the Members, as I have already ſaid, remain yet a- " mongſt you, infected with this deadly Poiſon, as I my ſelf " lately perceived. By which Paſſage we find that the ſame Diſorders had happened in thoſe Dioceſſes which he ſpeaks of, that *Sigebert* had before obſerved. *Bouchet* in his Annals of *Aquitain*, underſtands the thing after the ſame manner, where he ſpeaks thus of the Voyage of St. *Bernard*. " In the mean " time, whilſt all theſe things were a doing, *Godfry* Biſhop of " *Chartres*, and *Innocent*'s Legate in *France*, and St. *Bernard*, " who were to employ'd purge the Schiſmaticks out of *Aqui-*

tain,

" *tain*, or to reduce them to the Union of the Church, went " firſt to *Nantes*, &c.

I have ſhewed how *Henry* oppoſed himſelf to the Abuſes and Superſtitions, which the Church of *Rome* endeavoured to introduce into theſe Dioceſſes. But whatever Efforts the *Romiſh* Party made uſe of to overthrow this happy Work, it ſeems that they could never attain their End. We have a Letter writ by an Earl of *Tholouſe* to the Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, and to the general Chapter of that Order, in the Year 1177, which declares that the Clergy ſided with the Party which he accuſeth of *Manicheiſm*; and that the Popiſh Churches were reduced to extream Deſolation, he himſelf being in no Condition to remedy it, or to oppoſe himſelf againſt the Torrent, moſt of the great Lords having declared themſelves for them.

Chron. Gervaſ. inter 10 ſcript. Angl. pag. 1441.

" So far, *ſaith he*, hath this noiſom heretical Infection pre-
" vailed, that almoſt all cloſing with it, believe that in ſo
" doing they do God good Service; and the wicked one who
" is now exerting the Myſtery of Iniquity in the Children of
" Unbelief, doth ſo transform himſelf into an Angel of
" Light, that the Wife ſeparates from her Husband, the Son
" from his Father, and the Daughter-in-Law from her Mo-
" ther-in-Law. And O miſerable! has the Gold loſt its
" Luſtre amongſt us to that Degree, that it is trod under the
" Devil's Feet like Dirt? for even the Prieſts are depraved
" with the Filth of Hereſy; and the ancient and once venera-
" ble Churches appointed for Worſhip, are left deſolate, and
" lie in Ruins. —— And now what ſhall I ſay? there are none
" that conſider with themſelves, and ſay in their Hearts, What
" do we do? for we ſee that theſe Men do a great deal of
" Miſchief. If we let them alone, all Men will believe in
" them; and he who hath ſwallowed down a River already,
" will not wonder at it, from the Boldneſs of his wicked Pre-
" ſumption, if *Jordan* ſhould flow into his Mouth. For my
" part, who am girt with one of the two divine Swords, and
" who do own my ſelf an Avenger of the divine Wrath,
" and Miniſter of God appointed for that Purpoſe, whilſt I
" endeavour to ſet Bounds, and put a Stop to this Infidelity,
" do find that my Power is too weak to effect ſuch and ſo

" great

" great a Work, becauſe the moſt part of the Gentry of " my Dominion, having drunk of this Poiſon of Infideli- " ty already, are waſted away with its Contagion, and to- " gether with them, the greateſt part of the common People, " fall'n from the Faith, pines likewiſe; ſo that I neither dare " nor am able to undertake it.

Roger Hoveden ſets down a Letter of *Peter* Cardinal Legate at *Tholouſe*, wherein he makes mention of the *Albigenſian* Paſtors, *Raymond Baimiac*, *Bernard Raimond*, and ſome other chief Hereticks, who came to ſpeak with him, under his and the Earl of *Tholouſe*'s ſafe Conduct, and made profeſſion of their Faith in a great Aſſembly in the Church of St. *Stephen*.

He afterwards gives us an account of a Letter of *Henry* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, who lamenting the Corruption of *Tholouſe*, by theſe Arch-hereticks, adds theſe Words: " Yea ſo far " had this Plague prevailed in the Land, that they had not " only made to themſelves Prieſts and Biſhops, but had alſo " their Evangeliſts, who having depraved and cancell'd the " Truth of the Goſpel, had copied to themſelves new " Goſpels, and from their wicked Hearts, preached to the " deceived People new Doctrines. I lie if there was not " amongſt them a Man of a great Age, of a very plenti- " ful Eſtate, who had ſeveral Brethren and Friends, and " who had the Reputation of a great Man amongſt the " greateſt of the City, whom, in Puniſhment for his Sins, " the Devil had ſo blinded, that he declar'd himſelf to be " *John* the Evangeliſt, and he diſtinguiſhed the Word that " was in the Beginning with God, from another Principle " of things, as from another God: he was the head of theſe " miſerable Wretches, and the Ring-leader of the Here- " ticks in this City; who, though a Lay-man and an Idi- " ot, and ſo knew nothing, yet as a Fountain of diabolical " Wiſdom, the bitter Waters of Perdition and Death flowed " from him amongſt them. A Company of dark Owls aſ- " ſociated to him at Nights, where he ſitting amongſt them " in a Garment like a Rochet, and a Surplice over it, ſeem'd " like a King with his Army ſtanding about him, and was

" the Preacher to these Fools. He had fill'd the whole City " with his Disciples and Doctrine; no Body daring to op- " pose him, because of his Power and Riches. Yea, so great " was the Licentiousness of these Hereticks, that at our en- " trance into the Town, as we passed through the Streets " and Lanes, they mocked us, and pointed at us with their " Finger, calling us Apostats, Hypocrits, and Hereticks.

Peter Monk of *Vaux Cernay*, owns that the *Albigenses* had their Teachers, whom they called Bishops and Deacons. He takes notice that the Earl of *Tholouse*, who never went any whither without a New Testament, had always with him some of these Ministers for his Instruction and Consolation.

Hist. *Alb.* cap. 2.

We find in the Council of *Montpellier*, in the year 1214, that there was some difference between the Hereticks that were the Pastors, and the Believers, that is to say, the People; as it is particularly taken notice of in the Preface, and in the *29th* Canon of the Council of *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Pag. 40, & 54.

We find in *Matthew Paris* a Letter of the Bishop of *Porto*, the Pope's Legate for this Business of the *Albigenses*, written in the year 1223, to the Archbishop of *Roan*, where he mentions one *Bartholomew* a Bishop of the Hereticks, who had removed himself into the Country near *Tholouse*, where he created Bishops, and set Rules to the Churches of his Communion. His Words are these, *Etenim de Carcassonâ oriundus, vices illius Antipapæ gerens, Bartholomæus Hæreticorum Episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reverentiam, sedem & locum concessit in villâ quæ Perlos appellatur, & seipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus, in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio, intitulat in hunc modum, Bartholomæus servus servorum sanctæ fidei, tali salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates, creat Episcopos, & Ecclesias perfide ordinare intendit.* " For this *Bartholomew* the Bishop of the Hereticks, " Vicar to that Antipope, originally of *Carcasson*, paying him " an unhappy Reverence, yielded him his Seat and his Place " in the Village called *Perlos*, and removed himself into the " Country near *Tholouse*; this *Bartholomew* stiled himself Ser- " vant of the Servants of the holy Faith, and in his Letters " which he sent about amongst his Flock, as also in his first

" Salu-

" Salutations of thoſe who addreſſed themſelves to him, he " always aſſumed that Character. He alſo added to his other " Crimes, that of creating Biſhops, and perfidiouſly took " upon him the Government of thoſe Churches.

Lucas Tudenſis ſpeaks of one of their Biſhops that was burnt. Lib. 3. cap. 15.

William of *Puylaurens*, in his Chronicle, at the Beginning, ſpeaks of the great Reſpect that was given to theſe Miniſters of the *Albigenſes*, whom he calls *Waldenſes*, becauſe of the Holineſs of their Lives.

Laſtly, We ſee in the Acts of the Inquiſition of *Tholouſe*, ſeveral Names of thoſe that were Paſtors of the *Albigenſes*, and who had been ordain'd to the holy Miniſtry, by Men of their own Communion. This therefore was the Government of theſe Churches, the Succeſſion whereof we cannot diſtinctly ſet down; but this ought not to ſurprize any Body, the Captains of the *Croiſade*, and the Inquiſitors, can beſt ſatisfy the World in this Point, wherein we muſt acknowledg our Inability.

As for their Morals and Behaviour, who ever will but reflect upon the Debauchery and general Corruption which reigned in the 11*th* Century, will eaſily judg, that thoſe who renounced the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and who call'd her the Myſtical *Babylon*, becauſe of her falſe Worſhip, and the horrid Corruption of her Miniſters, muſt needs be more pure in their Morals, and more orderly in their Behaviour; and indeed we find it true in the *Albigenſes*, as well Paſtors as People.

The Paſtors recommended to the People, the having of the Books of the New Teſtament in their Mother-Tongue, and preſſed the Reading thereof with ſo much Care and Application, that *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouſe*, never ſtirred any whither without taking that holy Book with him. This was the certain Badg and Mark of all theſe Hereticks, and that whereby they defended themſelves. For which reaſon, the Council of *Tholouſe*, fearing leſt their *Croiſades* ſhould not be able to exterminate the *Albigenſes*, as long as they had the Bible in the vulgar Tongue, took care to prohibit the

having of it, in these Terms; "We prohibit the Permission of the Books of the Old and New Testament to "Laymen, except perhaps they might desire to have the "Psalter, or some Breviary for the Divine Service, or the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, for Devotion; expressly forbidding their having the other Parts of the Bible "translated into the Vulgar Tongue.

It was by means of this Purity of their Morals, that, as *Petrus Cluniacensis* witnesseth, the *Petrobusians* found so much favour with many of the Clergy, of the Bishops, of the Princes, and of the Laity, at the same time when they preached openly, that the Church of *Rome* was not the Church; but that they were the true Church, as being truly Apostolical.

Indeed a cursory Reflection upon the Nature of the enormous Crimes laid to their Charge, as if those Abominations had been the general Character of their Religion, is sufficient to discover the Imposture of their Accusers: For they are Crimes that overturn the Foundations of all Society, by destroying the Honour of Families, and filling every Place with abominable Adulteries and Incests. Can any Man imagine, that such a Sect as this, could ever have been able to propagate it self throughout all *Europe*, as *Wilhelmus Newbrigensis* declares the *Waldenses* did, if the Manners of those that profess it, had been founded upon Principles that trample upon the Laws of Nature, which have always been respected even amidst the thickest Darkness of Paganism? We do not find that *Manicheism* went so far, even then when it caus'd the greatest Disturbance in the World, nor that the Corruption into which it plunged those that were tainted with it, had any very great influence upon others; whereas we find, that the Religion of the *Albigenses* hath spread its Roots far and near, and even procur'd Esteem and Affection from those of the *Romish* Party, that were not wholly transformed into the Nature of Brutes and Madmen, being natural Consequences of that insulting Spirit which has animated the Popes and the Clergy in these latter Ages.

What

What I ſay here, is evident from the Teſtimony of *William* of *Puylaurens*, in his Chronicle, who owns that the *Albigenſes* had a ſhew of Godlineſs, though, ſaith he, they denied the power of it; that they were had in extream Veneration by the People; and that more Legacies were left to them than to Church-men: whereas on the other hand, the *Romiſh* Clergy were fall'n to that extream Contempt, that Laymen inſtead of the common Wiſh, *I had rather be a ſew*, us'd to ſay, *I had rather be a Chaplain.*

The Caſe muſt needs have been very evident, ſince Pope *Innocent* III, who left nothing unattempred to root it out, yet could not but do them the juſtice to own, that they were very free from ſeveral Vices. Epiſt. 149.

Indeed we may eaſily judg of their Morals and Demeanour, by their Conſtancy in ſuffering the moſt cruel Torments in the defence of the Truth. *Matthew Paris* tells us, of one *Robert* an Inquiſitor, who buried alive, or burnt 50 of them in two Months time, and yet not one of them renounced his Faith, in the midſt of the greateſt Violence of their Torments. *Perrin* and *Chaſſagnon* give us great Numbers of parallel Examples, as well as the Acts of the Inquiſition of *Tholouſe*. *Lucus Tudenſis*, who endeavours to ridicule this Conſtancy of their Martyrs, is at the ſame time a Witneſs for it beyond all manner of Controverſy.

Mezeray was juſter than the Biſhop of *Meaux*; for though he was not ignorant of the Slanders caſt upon them, yet he hath given this Teſtimony of the *Albigenſes*, whom he calls *Waldenſes*; he ſaith, " There were two principal Sorts of " them; the one of them were very ignorant, and given to " Lewdneſs and Villany; theſe Men maintain'd groſs and " filthy Errors; and theſe were indeed a kind of *Manichees*. " The others were more learned, and leſs diſorderly, and " keeping themſelves at the greateſt diſtance from the Filthineſſes now mention'd, maintain'd much the ſame Opinions " with the Calviniſts, and to ſpeak properly, were *Henricians* " and *Waldenſes*.

This Teſtimony ſo agreeable to Truth, may well make thoſe bluſh who copy the Forgeries of the Jeſuit *Mariana*, who

who to make the *Albigenſes* paſs for *Atheiſts* and *Epicureans*, has changed the Title of *Lucus Tudenſis* his Book, which was only in theſe terms, (*a*) *Concerning another Life, and Controverſies of Faith*, by adding to it, (*b*) *againſt the Errors of the* Albigenſes.

(*a*) De alterâ vitâ, fideique controverſiis. (*b*) Adverſus Albigenſium errores.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Perſecutions which the Albigenſes *have ſuffered from the Pope and his Party.*

MY Deſign is not to enlarge here upon a particular Deſcription of their Perſecutions. This would be too vaſt a Field to enter upon, in a Work of this kind, which I have undertaken: but withal, I ſhould think my ſelf to blame, if after having ſhewed with how much Zeal the *Albigenſes* maintained the Truth of the Goſpel, by their Preaching, and practis'd the Morals thereof in their Converſation, I ſhould not give a ſhort Account of what Perſecutions they have ſuffered, and with what Conſtancy, by their Martyrdom, they have born witneſs to the ſame Truth.

We have already taken a view of the Perſecutions exerciſed againſt *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* his Diſciple, at the Sollicitation of *Peter de Clugny*, and *Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, who cauſed them to be ſacrificed to the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome*, which after the 11*th* Century, begun to perſecute with Sword and Fire, all thoſe who durſt be ſo bold to oppoſe her Greatneſs, by undervaluing her Decrees. It was in compliance with this Method, that *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, writing to the Archbiſhop of *Arles* and *Ambrun*, and to the Biſhops of *Die* and *Gap*, concerning the *Petrobuſians* and *Henricians*, tells them; "It is your Duty to drive out the Hereticks "from thoſe Places, (where they rejoice to have found lurking "Holes,) not only by your Preaching, but alſo, if need be, by "armed Force of Lay-men. The

The Council of *Tholouſe*, aſſembled in 1119, where *Calixtus* II was preſent, gave occaſion to theſe bloody Executions. The third Chapter enjoins all Powers to repreſs the Hereticks, and that thoſe that favour them be ſubject to the ſame Condemnation.

In the year 1163, the Council of *Tours*, aſſembled by *Alexander* III, had ordained, that the Biſhops of thoſe Provinces, where any of them were found, ſhould not ſuffer any one to harbour or ſhelter them; that no Commerce ſhould be held with them about the things of common Converſation; and order'd temporal Princes to impriſon and condemn them, and confiſcate their Eſtates and Goods. Chap. 4.

In the year 1179, the ſame Pope *Alexander* III, renewed the ſame Orders, forbidding alſo their being buried in Places ſet a part for the burial of Papiſts. Cap. 27. Concil. Later. 3.

In 1181, *Henry*, who from Abbot of *Clairvaux*, had been made Biſhop of *Alby*, having as Legate gathered together ſome conſiderable Forces by his Preaching, went to viſit them with armed Force, but they to avoid the Storm that threatned them, pretended to abjure their Errors; but no ſooner was the Storm blown over, but they liv'd as they did before. So that the Contagion ſpread it ſelf through ſeveral Provinces, on both ſides of the *Loire*: and one of their falſe Apoſtles called *Terric*, who had hid himſelf a long time in a Cave at *Corbigny* in the Dioceſs of *Nevers*, was taken and burnt, and many more ſuffered the ſame Puniſhment in ſeveral other places.

This was that Sweetneſs of the Church of *Rome*, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* ſo much boaſts of, and which ſhe put in practice long before ſhe came to Conferences, which ſerved only for a Prelude to the utter ruin of the *Albigenſes*, which the Popes had deſigned long before.

Accordingly *Innocent* III, as *Mezeray* tells us in the Hiſtory of *Philip Auguſtus*, finding himſelf unable to reduce the Hereticks of *Languedoc*, who had almoſt gained that whole Province, reſolv'd to make an Example of *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouſe*, becauſe he was their chief Favourer, and becauſe he had caus'd *Peter de Chaſteauneuf*, a Ciſtertian Monk, and the firſt Pag. 616.

firſt that ever exerciſed the Function of Inquiſitor, to be put to Death: He excommunicated the Earl, abſolved his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and gave his Lands to the firſt that ſhould ſeize them, yet ſo as without Prejudice to the Right of Soveraignty of the Kings of *France*.

Whereupon the Earl was ſo frighted, that being come to *Valence*, to meet with *Milo* the Pope's Legate, he wholly ſubmitted himſelf to him, and gave eight ſtrong Places for ever to the Church of *Rome*, as a Security of his Converſion: and the Year following, to obtain Abſolution, he ſuffered himſelf to be laſh'd with Rods before the Gate of the Church of St. *Giles*, where *Peter de Chaſteau-Neuf* was buried, and afterwards to be dragg'd to the Tomb of that Monk by the Legate, who put a wooden Yoak about his Neck, before twenty Archbiſhops, and an infinite multitude of People: after this he took upon him the Croiſade, and the Year following joined himſelf with thoſe that took his own Cities, and thoſe of his Confederates.

But it was not his Repentance that ingaged him to endure ſo dreadful a Diſgrace, but the Apprehenſion he had of a terrible Tempeſt, that was juſt then breaking over his Head, for the Pope turning his Torrent of Zeal againſt the Hereticks, which puſh'd the People on to the Deliverance of the Holy Land, had this ſame Year ordered the Croiſade to be preached up againſt the *Albigenſes*, and a great number of Noblemen, Biſhops and common People, had already liſted themſelves in that Service, the King himſelf furniſhing 15000 Men, maintained at his own Charges.

It is worth our taking notice, *1ſt*, That Pope *Innocent* III, to encourage the Lords and People to the Holy War, granted a Plenary Remiſſion of all their Sins to all thoſe who took up the Badg of the Croſs, vouchſafing alſo the Protection of the Holy See to their Perſons and Goods, as may be ſeen in his Epiſtles. He abſolved the Cities that had ſworn to the Earl of *Tholouſe*, from their Oath of Allegiance, upon that excellent Principle of the Church of *Rome*, That *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, becauſe they do not keep theirs with God or the Church.* *2dly*, That the Earl of *Tholouſe* was not guilty of the Murder

Murder of *Peter de Chaſteau Neuf*; for we read that Earl *Raymond* went to meet King *Philip*, to obtain of him Letters of Recommendation from the Pope, that he might be fully acquitted of the Murder of the Monk *Peter de Chaſteau-Neuf*, whereof they had moſt unjuſtly obliged him to confeſs himſelf guilty, only becauſe the ſaid Murder had been committed in his Territories, for which the Legate *Milo* had impoſed upon him a moſt unjuſt and unheard-of Penance. From the Court of the King of *France* he went to *Rome*, where he received Abſolution immediately from the Hands of Pope *Innocent* III; this being a Caſe reſerved to him, the Pope received him very civilly, preſented him with a rich Robe, and a Ring of great Value, and granted him plenary Remiſſion and Abſolution from the ſaid Murder, declaring that he look'd upon him as ſufficiently cleared upon that Account.

In the Year 1209, the Army of theſe Croſs'd Souldiers, which conſiſted of no leſs than 500000 Men, entred *Languedock*, and attack'd the City of *Beziers*, being one of the ſtrongeſt Places the *Albigenſes* had, took it by Force, and put all they found in it to the Sword; ſo that above 60000 Perſons were kill'd there, as *Mezeray* informs us.

There happened one thing very remarkable at the taking of this City, which was, That the Zeal of theſe conſecrated Souldiers was ſuch, that they put to the Sword all the Papiſts and Romiſh Clergy that were in the City. The Earl of *Beziers* came out of the City, and caſt himſelf at the Feet of the Legate *Milo*, begging his Grace in Behalf of his City of *Beziers*, and intreating him, that he would not involve the Innocent in the Puniſhment of the Guilty, which would certainly come to paſs, in caſe the City ſhould be taken by Force, (which would ſoon be done by ſuch a great and powerful Army, that was ready to ſcale the Walls in every Part round the whole City) that it could not be otherwiſe, but that in this Caſe much Blood would be ſpilt on both ſides, which he might prevent. That there were in *Beziers* great Numbers of good Catholicks, who would be involved in the ſame Ruin, contrary to the Pope's Intention, whoſe Deſign was only to chaſtiſe the *Albigenſes*. That if he did not

think fit to ſpare his Subjects, for their own ſakes, that at leaſt he would be pleaſed to take pity of his Age and Profeſſion, ſince the Loſs would be his, who was under Age, and an obedient Servant of the Pope, as having been educated in the Church of *Rome*, in the which he was reſolved to live and die. That if he was offended that ſuch Perſons as were Enemies to the Pope, had been tolerated in his Territories, that this ought not to be imputed to him, becauſe he had no other Subjects, but ſuch as his deceaſed Father had left him; and that in this his Minority, and during the ſhort time that he had been Maſter of his Eſtate, he had neither been able by reaſon of his Incapacity to diſcern the Evil, or to ſuit a Remedy to it; though indeed this was his Intention, and that he hoped for the time to come, to give all manner of Satisfaction to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, as became an obedient Son of both.

The Pope's Legat's Anſwer was, That all his Excuſes ſhould be of no Uſe to him, and that he might ſhift for himſelf the beſt he could.

The Earl of *Béziers* being returned to the City, called the People together, and repreſented to them, that after having ſubmitted himſelf to the Pope's Legate, he had interceded for them, without being able to obtain any thing, but a Pardon, upon condition that thoſe who profeſſed the Faith of the *Albigenſes*, ſhould abjure their Religion, and promiſe to live according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. The *Roman Catholicks* beſeeched them to give way to this extream Violence, and not to be the cauſe of their Death, becauſe the Legate was reſolved not to pardon one of them, except they all unanimouſly reſolved to live under the ſame Laws. To which the *Albigenſes* anſwered, That they would never forſake their Faith, for the baſe Price of this frail Life: That they were well aſſured that God could protect them, if it ſeemed good unto him; but withal, neither were they ignorant, that if he rather choſe to be glorified by the Confeſſion of their Faith, it would be an exceeding Honour to them to die for Righteouſneſs ſake. That they had much rather diſpleaſe the Pope, who could only deſtroy their Bodies, than

than offend God, who could deſtroy Body and Soul together. That they deteſted the Thought of being aſhamed of, or denying that Faith by which they had learn'd to know Chriſt and his Righteouſneſs; and for fear of eternal Death to imbrace a Religion which intirely takes away the Merit of Jeſus Chriſt, and deſtroys his Righteouſneſs; that therefore they might make the beſt terms for themſelves they could, without promiſing any thing that was contrary to the Duty of true Chriſtians.

As ſoon as the *Roman Catholicks* underſtood this, they ſent their Biſhop to the Legate, to beſeech him not to comprehend them in the ſame Puniſhment with the *Albigenſes*, they having always adhered to the Church of *Rome*, and of whom he who was their Biſhop had good Knowledg; judging alſo that the reſt had not gone ſo far from the ways of Repentance; but that they might be reduced by a Sweetneſs well becoming the Church, which takes no Delight in ſhedding Blood.

The Legate being enraged at this, with horrible Threats and Oaths proteſted, That except all that were in the Town did acknowledg their Fault, and ſubmit themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, they ſhould all be put to the Sword, without any regard had to Catholicks, to Sex or Age; but that all ſhould be expoſed to Fire and Sword: and immediately commanded the City to be ſummoned to ſurrender at Diſcretion, which being refuſed, he commanded all the warlike Engines to play, and to diſcharge their Inſtruments, and to caſt Stones, ordering them at the ſame time to give a general Aſſault, and to ſcale the City round, ſo that it was impoſſible for thoſe within to ſuſtain the ſhock; for being preſs'd upon by above 100000 Pilgrims, they at laſt, ſaith the Compiler of the *Treaſure of Hiſtories*, diſcomfited thoſe within the City, and entring in all at once, killed vaſt numbers of all ſorts, and afterwards putting Fire to the City, they burnt it to Aſhes.

When the Town was taken, the Prieſts, Monks and Clerks, came in Proceſſion out of the great Church of *Beziers*, called St. *Nazari*, with the Banner, Croſs, and Holy Water, bareheaded, clothed in their Eccleſiaſtical Veſtments, ſinging *Te Deum*, in token of their rejoicing for the City's being taken

and purged of the *Albigenſes*. But the Pilgrims, who had received an expreſs Order from the Legate to kill all, ruſhed in amongſt this Proceſſion, cutting off the Heads and Arms of the Prieſts, ſtriving who could do moſt, till they were all cut to pieces.

Theſe Cruelties exerciſed upon the City of *Beziers*, upon the Papiſts themſelves, yea, and upon their very Clergy, having opened the Earl of *Beziers* his Eyes, to ſee that the Pope under the Pretence of Religion, had a mind to ruin the Earl of *Tholouſe* his Uncle, as well as himſelf, he ſhut up himſelf in his City of *Carcaſſon*, with a Reſolution to defend it againſt the Legate and his Pilgrims. The King of *Arragon* his Kinſman having diſcourſed with him, the Earl plainly declared, That he knew this to be the Pope's Deſign, becauſe when he was treating for his Subjects of *Beziers*, he refuſed to receive his Catholick Subjects into his Favour, nay, would not ſo much as ſpare the Prieſts, who were all cut in pieces in their Sacerdotal Ornaments, under the Banner and the Croſs; that this Example of cruel Impiety, joined with what they exerciſed upon the Village of *Carcaſſon*, where they had expoſed all to Fire and Sword, without any Diſtinction of Age or Sex, had fully convinced him that there was no Mercy to be look'd for from the Legate or his Pilgrims, and that accordingly he would chooſe rather to die with his Subjects, defending themſelves, than to be expoſed to the Mercy of an inexorable Enemy, ſuch as he had found the Legate to be: and though there were in the City of *Carcaſſon* many of his Subjects, of a Belief contrary to that of the Church of *Rome*, yet that they were Perſons that had never done any Injury to any one; that they had always aſſiſted him in time of need, and that for this their good Service, he was reſolved never to abandon them, as they on their Parts had promiſed him to hazard Life and Eſtate in his Defence: That he hoped that God, who is the Reliever of thoſe who are oppreſſed, would aſſiſt them againſt this great Multitude of ill-adviſed Men, who under the Pretence of meriting Heaven, had quitted their own Habitations to come and burn, pillage, ravage and murder in the Habitations of others, without either Reaſon, Judgment or Mercy.

The

The King of *Arragon* returned with this Remonſtrance to the Legat, who aſſembled a great number of Lords and Prelats to hear what he had to ſay, who declared to them, that he had found the Earl of *Beziers* his Ally, extreamly ſcandalized at their inhuman Proceedings againſt his Subjects of *Beziers*, and of the Village of *Carcaſſon*; and that he was fully perſwaded, ſeeing they had neither ſpared the Roman Catholicks, nor the Prieſts themſelves, that it was not a Religious War, as was pretended, but a kind of Robbery under the Colour of Religion: That he hoped God would be ſo favourable to him, as to make his Innocence, and the juſt occaſion he hath had to defend himſelf, ſufficiently known: That they muſt not hope now to have them ſurrender at Diſcretion, ſince they had found that there was no other to be expected from them, but that of killing all they met with. That it had never been found good Policy to drive an Enemy to Deſpair: wherefore if the Legate would be pleaſed to afford any tolerable Compoſition to the Earl of *Beziers* and his Subjects, that Mildneſs would be a better Method to reduce the *Albigenſes* to the Church of *Rome*, than extream Severity: and that he ought alſo to remember that the Earl of *Beziers* was a young Man, and a *Roman Catholick*, who might be very ſerviceable in reducing his Subjects, who had ſo great Confidence in him, to their Obedience to the Church.

The Legate told the King of *Arragon* that if he would withdraw a little, they would adviſe what were beſt to be done. The King being called in again, the Legate told him, That in Conſideration of his Interceſſion, he would receive the Earl of *Beziers* to Mercy, and therefore if it ſeemed good to him, he might come forth, and eleven with him, with his Goods and Baggage; but that as for the People that were in the City of *Carcaſſon*, they ſhould only deliver to his Diſcretion, of which they ought to have a very good Opinion, he being the Pope's Legate; and that accordingly they ſhould come forth all ſtark-naked, Men, Women and Children, without Shirts or any other Covering on their Bodies. Alſo that the Earl of *Beziers* ſhould be delivered into ſure Hands, and that all his Eſtate ſhould be ſurrendred up to the future Lord of his Territories,

ritories, who ſhould be choſen for Conſervation of the ſame.

The King of *Arragon* having indeavoured to bring the Legate to eaſier terms for the young Earl: the Legate told him, that theſe Conditions were very favourable; and yet what follows, is ſtill more infamous. The Legate employes a Perſon of Quality to indeavour to draw the Earl of *Beziers* out of *Carcaſſon*, and to bring him to him, with Aſſurance under Oath, that he would ſend him back to his City of *Carcaſſon*, in caſe he ſhould not be ſatisfied with the Legat's Propoſals. The Count of *Beziers* upon this Aſſurance comes to the Legate, and repreſents to him, That if he would think fit to treat his Subjects with more Kindneſs, he would eaſily induce them to comply with his Deſire, and recal the *Albigenſes* from their Error to the Church: That the Terms which had been mentioned to him, were ſhameful and undecent for thoſe who were to keep their Eyes chaſte as well as their Thoughts: That he knew his People would rather die than ſee themſelves reduced to ſo ſcandalous an Ignominy, and therefore entreated him to come to eaſier Terms, and that he did not queſtion but to make his Subjects accept of any other more tolerable Conditions.

The Legate's Anſwer was, That the People of *Carcaſſon* might conſider what they had to do; that he would concern himſelf no further, ſince the Earl was his Priſoner, and ſhould continue ſo till the City were taken, and his Subjects acknowledg their Duty.

When *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* was made General for the Church, he was ſo careful to deſtroy the *Albigenſes*, that he ſeized upon all the places belonging to Popiſh Lords, that lay convenient for him, ſo that the King of *Arragon* was forced to complain to the Pope of theſe his Proceedings, in ſome Letters yet extant, to oblige him to make Reſtitution. And for the merciful temper of this renowned Earl, take but this one Inſtance of it: After a Siege of ſix Months the City of *Lavaur* was taken by Storm, and ſcaling of the Walls, and all that were found in it were put to the Sword, except fourſcore Gentlemen whom the Earl cauſed to be hanged and ſtrangled,

ſtrangled, and *Almericus* was hanged on a Gallows higher than the reſt. The Lady of *Lavaur* was caſt alive into a Pit, and there ſtoned to Death.

The Conduct of the Pope, and the *Lateran* Council, in the year 1215, is worth taking notice of, becauſe it was nothing but a Confirmation of all theſe Proceedings. *Mezeray* gives this Account of it. Prince *Lewis* took upon him the Badg of the Croſs to go againſt the *Albigenſes*, and aſſiſted in the Expedition of *Languedoc*; the Earl of *Montfort* met him at *Vienne*, and the Legate at *Valence*; when he was come to St. *Gilles*, *Montfort*, who accompanied him, received Bulls from the Pope, who, purſuant to the Decree of the Council of *Montpellier* held ſome Months before, had given him the whole Territory of *Tholouſe*, and all the reſt he had conquer'd with his croſs'd Pilgrims, provided he could get Inveſtiture from the King, and would pay him the accuſtomed Homage: So that we may ſay, that the Pope nominated him to his Dignity, and the King in compliance with the ſaid Nomination, conferr'd it upon him. From thence *Lewis* went to *Montpellier*, and then to *Beziers*, where he gave order for the demoliſhing of the Walls of *Narbon* and *Tholouſe*. In the mean time, the Council of *Lateran*, notwithſtanding the pitiful Remonſtrances of the Earl of *Tholouſe*, who was preſent there in Perſon with his Son, adjudged the Propriety of his Lands to *Montfort*, reſerving only the Lands he had in *Provence* for his Son, and 400 Marks of Silver a Year for his own Subſiſtence, and that too upon condition of his being obedient to the Church. After this, *Montfort* aſſumed the Title of Earl of *Tholouſe*, and came and received his Inveſtiture from the King in the City of *Melun*.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I barely mention all the Cruelties and Barbarities which the *Romiſh* Party exerciſed for near twenty Years together by their continual Croiſades, againſt a People who were taken to be Hereticks as ſoon as they found a New Teſtament in the vulgar Tongue about them.

I ſhall conclude this Chapter with ſetting down the Laws which the King of *France* enacted in the year 1228, againſt the

the *Albigenſes*. " Wherefore becauſe the Hereticks have " now of a long time ſpread their Poiſon in your Parts, " polluting our Mother the Church after ſeveral Manners; " we do in order to their utter Extirpation decree, that all " Hereticks deviating from the Catholick Faith, by what " Name ſoever they are called, as ſoon as they are con- " demned of Hereſy by the Biſhop of the Place, or by a- " ny other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon that hath Power to do it, " be without delay puniſhed; Ordaining alſo, and firmly en- " acting, That no Man do preſume to harbour or protect " the ſaid Hereticks, or favour or truſt them; and that if " any one do preſume to commit any thing contrary to theſe " Premiſes, he be made incapable of being a Witneſs, or of " any Honour whatſoever, as alſo of making a Will, or in- " heriting any thing. Moreover, We enact, That all his " Goods, real or perſonal, be *ipſo facto*, confiſcated, never " to return to him or any of his Poſterity. We alſo enact " and command, That all Barons of the Land, and our Bai- " liffs, and other our Subjects preſent and future, be careful " and diligent to purge the Land of Hereticks, and heretical " Contagion, commanding them to be very induſtrious in " ſearching them out, and faithful in diſcovering them, and " as ſoon as they have found any of them, to preſent them " without delay before the Perſons above named, that ſo " being convict in their Preſence of Error and Hereſy, " they may, ſetting aſide all Hatred, Entreaties, Rewards, " Fear, Favour and Love, give Sentence againſt them. And " that thoſe who are diligent and careful in the ſearching " for, and ſeizing of Hereticks, may not want the En- " couragement of Honour and Reward, We do enact, will " and command, that our Bailiffs, in whoſe Bailiwicks the " ſaid Hereticks ſhall be ſeized, pay to the Taker for e- " very Heretick, two Marks in Silver, for the Term of " two Years, and after that time expired, one Mark " only.

Hitherto we have taken a View of what was charged upon the Magiſtrates and Lords, to whom the Execution of theſe Laws was committed. Let us now conſider what other

other means the Church of *Rome* made uſe of; which was, the erecting the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, the Maxims and Conduct whereof, Pope *Gregory* XIII, thought good to make known to the World, by publiſhing the Directory for Inquiſitors. This Tribunal erected by the Popes for the Extirpation of the *Albigenſes*, is a Thing in it ſelf ſo very horrid, that it ſtrikes the Papiſts themſelves with Horror, that are not us'd to it; and yet ſuch as it is, it hath juſtly been eſteemed, and is ſtill to this day thought to be the right Hand of the Church of *Rome*. One may ſee from ſome of the publiſhed Regiſters of theſe Inquiſitors, and by ſome of their Trials of the *Albigenſes*, the horrid Impoſtures of theſe Inquiſitors, and the terrible Puniſhments they have inflicted upon the *Albigenſes* in all Places, where from Age to Age they have been able to diſcover them.

CHAP. XXII.

That the Doctrine of the Albigenſes *ſpread it ſelf in* England, *and continued there till the time of the Reformation.*

HENRY *Knighton* tells us, that the *Albigenſian* Hereticks came over into *England* in the Reign of King *John*, and that ſome of them were burnt alive. But yet we muſt not think that their Doctrine by this means was wholly extinguiſh'd; for we find the ſame appearing again in the Perſons of the *Lollards* and *Wickleſites*. I diſtinguiſh the *Lollards* from the *Wickleſites*, as being more antient than they, having appeared in *Flanders* and *Germany* from the beginning of the 14*th* Century, as appears from the Teſtimonies of *Johannes Hoeſemius*, and of the Abbot *Trithemius*; though the ſame Name was

De eventibus Angl. l. 2. c. 15.

afterwards given to the *Wickleſites*, as is evident from the Writings of *Walſingham* and *William Thorn*. They ſeem to have come from the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, by what *Kilianus* tells us; *Lollardus quoque dicitur Hereticus Waldenſis*: "A Lollard "is alſo called a Waldenſian Heretick.

I need only therefore ſpeak of their Numbers, which as *Knighton* aſſures us, covered all *England*: but ſince they have been charged with moſt horrid Crimes, becauſe they ſpoke againſt the Images of the Saints, and the reſt of the *Romiſh* Superſtitions, as well as the Vices of the Clergy; it will be abſolutely neceſſary to clear them from theſe falſe Imputations, in the moſt authentick Manner that may be.

Let us therefore examine the Calumnies charged upon them by *Trithemius* in his Chronicle of *Hirſauge*, on the year 1316, as they were copied by *Natalis Alexander*, a Jacobite Friar, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. The Heads of the Hereſies which *Trithemius* reckons up, are theſe;

Sæcul. 13. p. 1. p. 387, & 388.

"I. That Maſſes were vain Things, to which neither "any Reverence was due, nor were they of any uſe or "profit.

"II. That *Lucifer* with his Devils, being unjuſtly driven "out of Heaven, ſhould be reſtored to Bliſs again; and that "*Michael*, with all the Angels, ſhould be ſentenc'd to ever-"laſting Puniſhment; and that all thoſe that were not of "their Sect, ſhould be damned after the ſame manner.

"III. That the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, if ſhe continued a "Virgin after her Delivery, muſt have brought forth not a "Man, but an Angel.

"IV. They boaſted themſelves to have twelve Apoſtles, "who every year viſited the whole Empire; and that two "of theſe being Elders in Order and Profeſſion, did eve-"ry year enter Paradiſe, and there received from *Enoch* "and *Elias*, the Power of Binding and Looſing, which they "afterwards communicated to the other Profeſſors of their "Sect.

"V. They derided the Sacrament of Baptiſm; ſaying, "If Baptiſm be a Sacrament, then every Bath is a Sacra-"ment,

" ment, and by conſequence, every Keeper of a Bath muſt " be God.

" VI. They ſhamefully abuſed the Sacrament of Penance, " by confeſſing their Sins not to Prieſts but Laymen, and " expreſſing them only in general, and not in particular, and " yet they hoped by this their Confeſſion, to obtain full and " perfect Forgiveneſs both of Guilt and Puniſhment.

" VII. The Sacrament of the Lord's Body, they did not believe " at all, calling the conſecrated Hoſt, a God made with Hands.

" VIII. They called the Sacrament of Matrimony that " was ſworn to, Fornication.

" IX. They derided the Sacrament of Extream Unction; " and being examined what they thought of it, they unani- " mouſly anſwered, We believe that Herbs, the more they " are laid in Oil, the better they are: And they vilified all " the Conſecrations and Bleſſings uſed in the Church, as ſo " many vain and uſeleſs Ceremonies.

" X. They blaſphemouſly aſſerted, That God neither " knew nor puniſhed any Sins that were committed under the " Earth, for which Reaſon they uſed to meet in Caves and " Places under ground, where Fathers committed Filthi- " neſs promiſcuouſly with their Daughters, and Brothers " with their Siſters.

" XI. That the Church of *Rome* was not the Church of " Chriſt, but of infidel Heathens; and they deſpiſed all Ec- " cleſiaſtical Laws, together with all the Biſhops and Mi- " niſters of the Church.

" XII. Faſts they mocked at, eating Fleſh at all times, " Good-friday not excepted.

" XIII. They kept no Holidays, but wrought even upon " Eaſter-day.

" XIV. They deny'd that Perjury was a Sin.

" XV. They deny'd that the Merits or Interceſſions of the " Saints, could prevail with God for the Pardon of Mens " Sins. And he ſays, that beſide theſe they profeſſed many " other Errors, which he omits, for fear of being tedious to " his Readers. He adds alſo, That this Hereſy did ſo far pre- " vail, that in *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, and the neighbouring Pro-

" vinces, there were above four-ſcore Thouſand Men who " were ſworn to the Profeſſion of this Sect. From theſe " Dregs of Hereſy, ſaith he, *Bohemia* being then infected, " continues tainted with the ſame to this Day. He ſubjoins, " that many of theſe Hereticks were at the ſame time burnt " in divers places of *Auſtria*, who all of them continued ob- " ſtinately in their Hereſy, with great Chearfulneſs until " Death. *Walter*, a chief Man of that Sect, was burnt at " *Collen* in the Year 1323, as *Trithemius* tells us in his Chroni- " cle of the Monaſtery of *Hirſaugen*, in the Dioceſs of *Spires*.

Nothing can be imagined more horrid than theſe Calumnies, and we need not doubt but they were ſupported by many pretended Convictions made by the Inquiſitors of *Germany*: but it is eaſy to demonſtrate, that there is ſcarce any ground for all theſe Accuſations, which therefore is a plain Proof of what I have elſewhere maintained concerning theſe perſecuted Perſons, who uſed it for a Proverb in *England*, *He lies like a Monk*.

We have an authentick piece of the *Lollards*, which *Roger Dimmock* a Jacobite Friar hath confuted in a Manuſcript, whereof there are two Copies at *Cambridg*, the one in the publick Library, and another older than that, in *Trinity Colledg*. They preſented this Confeſſion of theirs to the Parliament, which gave occaſion to this Monk to inſert it in *Engliſh*, together with his Latin Tranſlation, into a Book which he dedicated to King *Richard* II. I need only ſet down the Original, with the Latin Tranſlation of *Roger Dimmock*, which will be ſufficient to confound all the Calumnies of the Inquiſitors.

The Petition *of the* LOLLARDS.

NOS pauperes homines theſaurarii ſive theſaurus Chriſti & Apoſtolorum ejus, denunciamus vobis Dominis & Communibus præſentis Parliamenti certas Quæſtiones & Veritates pro Reformatione ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quæ cæca extitit & leproſa annis plurimis per manutenentiam ſuperbæ prælaciæ ſupportatæ adulationibus privatarum religionum, ſive privatæ religionis multiplicatæ ad magnum onus, & eſt effectus populi oneroſus in Anglia.

WE pore Ben Treſorers of Chriſt and his Apoſtels, denouncyn to the Lordes and Commens of the Parliament, certeyn Concluſions and Treuthes for the Reformation of Holi Church of Inglond, the which hath ben blend and leproufe many yere, be the Mayntenance of the proud Prelaci, bom up with Flateryng of privat Religion. The which is multiplied to a grete Charge, and onerous to Pepil here in Inglond.

Secunda Concluſio hanc continet Sententiam.

Quando Eccleſia Anglicana incœpit delirare in poſſeſſione temporalium ſecundum novercam ſuam magnam Romanam Eccleſiam, & Eccleſiæ mortificatæ erant ſive occiſæ per appropriationem

Whan the Chirch of Inglond began to dote in Temperalte after hir Stepmoder the grete Chirche of Rome, and the Chirches were ſlayn be Appropriation to divers Places: Feythe,

priationem diverſorum locorum: fides, ſpes & caritas cœperunt fugere extra Eccleſiam noſtram, quia ſuperbia cum ſua prole perverſa peccatorum mortalium vendicabant Eccleſiam noſtram titulo hæreditario. Iſta quæſtio eſt generalis & probata, ut dicunt, experientia & more, ut audies in ſequentibus.

Hæc eſt ſecunda Quæſtio: Sacerdotium noſtrum uſuale quod incœpit in civitate Romana ficta altioris poteſtatis poteſtate Anglica, non eſt Sacerdotium à Chriſto ſuis Diſcipulis ordinatum. Probatur ſic hæc quæſtio, Sacerdotium Romanum fictum cum ſignis & ritibus ac Epiſcoporum Benedictionibus, eſt pravæ virtutis, nullibi in ſacra Scriptura exemplatum: quia Ordinalia ſine rubricæ Epiſcoporum pravæ ſunt fidei vel autoritatis in novo Teſtamento, & neſcimus videre quod ſpiritus ſanctus dat dona ſua propter aliqua talia ſigna, quia ipſe & nobilia dona ſua ſtare non

Feythe, Hope, and Charite, began for to ſle out of our Chirch, for Pride wit his foll Genealogy of dedely Sinnes chalangith it, be Title of Heritage. This Concluſion is generale, and is proved by Experience, Cuſtum and Manner, as you ſhall heryn after.

The ſecund Concluſion is this: Our uſuel Prieſthode, the which began in Rome, feyned of a Power heyer than Angels, is not the Prieſthode, the which Chriſt ordeyned to his Apoſtells. This Concluſion is proved; for the Prieſthode of Rome is marked with Signes, Rites, and Biſhopes Bleſſyngs, and that is of litel Virtu, no wher enſampled in holi Scripture. For the Biſhopes Ordinals in the New Teſtament ben litel of Record, and we can not ſe that the Holi Goſt for any ſuch Signes gifes any Gifts: for he and his holy Gifes mai

non poſſunt cum peccato mortali in aliquâ unâ perſonâ.

Corrolaria hujus quæſtionis eſt, quod valde extraneum ſive novum eſt pluribus hominibus ſapientibus videre Epiſcopos ludere cum ſpiritu ſancto in ſuorum ordinum collatione, quia coronas conferunt in caracteribus loco ſervorum alborum, & illa eſt liberata Antichriſti ſive ejus ſignum in iſtam Eccleſiam introductum ad otium palliandum.

Tertia quæſtio doloroſa eſt iſta, Lex continentiæ ſacerdotio annexa quæ in præjudicium fœminarum fuit primitus introducta, inducit Sodomiam in univerſalem ſanctam Eccleſiam: ſed per Bibliam excuſamus nos propter ſuſpectum decretum quod dicit quia nempe non deberemus nominare id peccatum: ratio & experientia hanc probat quæſtionem, quia delicioſi cibi & potus Eccleſiaſticorum requirit neceſſariam purgationem naturalem vel pejorem, experientia

mat not ſtond with dedely Synne in no manner Perſon.

The Corelary of this Concluſion, that it is full unketh to many that be wiſe, to ſe Biſhopes play with the Holi Goſt in making of her Oyders, for thei gif Crownes in Caracters in ſtede of whit hertes, and that is the Liveray of Antichriſt brought into holi Church to colour Idleneſs.

The trid Concluſion ſorowful to here, is that the Law of Continence enered to Prieſt-hode, that in Prejudice of Wymmen was firſt ordeynet, inducyth Sodomy in all holi Chirch: bot we excuſe us be the Bible, for the ſuſpecte Decre that ſaith, that we ſhall not * it. Reſon and Experience prabyth this Concluſion, for delicious Metis and Drynkes of Men of holi Chirch, will haf nedful Purgation of Kind or Wers. Experience for the privy Slay of ſuch Men,

* name.

entia occultæ probationis talium, ergo non habent delectationem in mulieribus, & cum talem repereris, nota enim bene, quia ipse est unus ex illis. Correlaria hujus quæstionis est quod dignum valde esset adnullare privatas religiones hujus peccati incœptores: sed Deus ex sua magna potestate de peccatis privatis manifestam sumat vindictam.

Quarta quæstio quæ plus damnificat populum innocentem, est quia fictum miraculum sacri panis inducit omnes homines, paucis exceptis ad Idolatriam, quia ipsi æstimant quod corpus Domini quod nunquam exibit Cœlum, virtute verborum sacerdotis sit in exiguo pane quem ipsi populo ostendunt; sed utinam vellent credere quod Doctor Evangelicus dicit in suo Trialogo, quia *panis altaris est habitudinaliter corpus Christi*; quia supponimus quod isto momento potest quilibet vir & fœmina in lege divina conficere Sacramentum panis sine aliquo

Ben, is, that thai lik no Wymmen, and whan thow provest such a Man, mark him wele, for he is on of tho. The Correlary of this Conclusion, that the privat Religions Begynners of this Synne, were most worthi to ben anulled: but God of hys might of prive Synnes send open Ungreance.

The ferth Conclusion that most harmeth the innocent Pepel, is this, that the feyned Miracle of the Sacrament of Bred inducyth al Men but a few, to Idolatre; for thai wen that Goddis Bodi that nevere schal out of Heven, be virtu of Prestis Wordes be closed essentialt in a litel Bred, that thai shew to the People: but would God they would believe what the Doctor Evangelicus seis in his Trialoge, quod Panis altaris est habitudinaliter Corpus Christi. For we suppose that on this wise, mai every trew Man and Womman in

aliquo tali miraculo. Corrolarium hujus quæſtionis eſt, quod ſi corpus Chriſti ſit dotatum gloria æterna, officium corporis Chriſti compoſitum per Sanctum Thomam non eſt verum, & depictum plenum falſis miraculis; & hoc non eſt mirum, quia frater Thomas illo tempore tenens cum Papa, voluit feciſſe miraculum de ovo gallinæ; & bene novimus quod quodlibet mendacium apertè prædicatum, cedit illi in verecundiam & injuriam, qui ſemper eſt fidelis & ſine defectu.

Quinta quæſtio eſt hæc, Exorciſmi, ſanctificationes, conſecrationes ſive benedictiones factæ in Eccleſia ſancta vini & panis, aquæ, olei, ſalis, cerei incenſi, ſive thuris, menſæ altaris, murorum Eccleſiæ, veſtimentorum mitræ, baculi paſtoralis, baculorum peregrinorum & hujuſmodi, vera practica ſunt Nigromanciæ potius quam ſanctæ Theologiæ. Hæc

in Goddes Law, mak the Sacrament of this Brede without any ſuch Miracle. The Corrolary of this Concluſion is, that if Chriſtes Bodi be dowid with everlaſting Joi, the Servys of Corpus Chriſti, made be Frere Thomas is untrew, and peynted ful of falſ Miracles; and that is no wonder, for Frere Thomas that ſame tyme holdyng with the Pope, wold haf mad a Miracle of an Hen Egge: and we know well, that every Leſyng openly preached, turneth him to Vilany that ever was trew, and without defaut.

The fift Concluſion is this, that Creſyms and holowyng mad in the Chirch of Wine, Brede, and way-Water, Salt, Dyle, and Encenſe, the Stone of the Altar, * upon veſtment Myter, Croys and pilgrim Staves, be the veray practik of Nygromancy, rather than of the holi Theologi.

* Something wanting in the *MS.*

Hæc quæstio probatur sic, per tales exorcismos & consecrationes creaturæ sunt oneratæ esse altioris virtutis quam sunt ex natura propria, & nihil mutationis videmus in hujusmodi creaturis exorcizatis vel consecratis nisi per falsam fidem, quæ est principale in omni arte diabolica.

Correlarium si liber qui exorcizat aquam benedictam aspersam in Ecclesiam Dei esset totus verus nobis, videtur veraciter, quia aqua benedicta in sancta Ecclesia usitata optima esset medicina, cujus contrarium experimur.

Sexta quæstio quæ sustentat multam superbiam, est, quod Rex & Pontifex in eadem persona, Prælatus & Judex temporalis causæ, Curatus & Officiarius in servicio mundiali quod libet regnum reddit sine regula debita vel convenienti regimine. Hæc quæstio probatur sic, potestas temporalis & spiritualis sunt duæ partes totius sanctæ Ecclesiæ & in eo

This Conclusion is proved thus; for be such Exorsymes Creatures be charget to be of heyer Virtu then her own Kynd, and we see nothing of chaunge in no such Creature, that is so charmed but be fals beleve, the which is the Principal of the Develes craft.

The Correlary of this, that if the Boke that charmeth hali Water spede were al trewe, us thenk verely, that holi Water used in hali Chirch, schuld be the best Medecyn to all manner of Seknes.

The syxt Conclusion that maynteneth mychel Pride is, that a Kyng and a Bisshop al in on Person, a Prelate and a Justice in Temperal Cause, a Curate and an Officer maken any Roem out of gode Rewle. This Conclusion is openly schewed, for Temperalte and Spiritualte be two Partis of an holi Chirch, and therefore he that hath taken hym to

that

eo qui ſe uni eorum deputavit non deberet ſe interponere cum altero, quia nemo poteſt duobus dominis ſervire, & nobis videtur quod Hermefodrita vel Ambidexter eſſet conveniens nomen talibus hominibus duplicis ſtatus.

Correlarium, nos procuratores Dei in iſta cauſa inſtamus & proſequimur ac petimus in iſto Parliamento, quod omneſmodi curatores tam alti quam baſſi ſint plene excuſati ab omni officio temporali,& ſe occupent cum curis ſuis,& de nullis aliis ſe interponant.

Septima quæſtio quam nos potenter affirmamus,eſt, quod ſpeciales orationes factæ in Eccleſia noſtra pro animabus defunctorum, proferendo unum ex nomine potius quam alium, eſt falſum fundamentum elemoſinæ ſuper quod omnes domus elemoſinariæ in Anglia male fundantur. Hæc quæſtio probatur duplici ratione; primo quia oratio meritoria & valoris deberet eſſe opus

that one ſchuld not melle him with that other, Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſervire; and us think that Hermifodrita or Ambidexter, were a gode Name to ſuch manner of Men of dowble eſtate.

The Correlary is, that we the Procuratours of God in this Cauſe, do proſit to this Parlement, that al manner of Curates, both hey and low,ben fully excuſed of temperel Office, and occupy hem with her cure and not elles.

The ſevent Concluſion that we myghtily afferm is, that ſpecial Praiers for dede Mens Soules mad in owre Chirch, preferring on be Name more than another, This is the fall ground of Almes Dede, on the which al Almes Houſes of Inglond ben wikkidly grounded. This Concluſion is proved by two Skilles, on is, for Praier meritory and of valew ſchold be a Werk

opus procedens ex alta caritate, & perfecta caritas non accipit personas, quia diliges proximum, &c. quia propter nobis videtur donatio bonorum temporalium collatorum sacerdotibus & domibus elemosinariis, est causa principalis hujusmodi orationum specialium, quæ non multum distat à simoniâ; quia speciales orationes factæ pro hominibus damnatis ad pœnam æternam multum Deo displicent, & quamvis dubium sit, tamen verisimile est fideli populo, quod fundationes domorum elemosinariarum propter ipsorum venenosam dotationem pro majori parte transiissent viam latam. Correlarium. Oratio valoris procedens à perfecta caritate debet se extendere in generali ad omnes quos Deus vult salvare,& dimittere debent Mercancias orationum spiritualium modo usitatarum pro mortuis hominibus factas mendicantibus Possessionatis & aliis Presbyteris peculiaribus animarum,

procedyng of hey and perfit Charite, accept no Persones, quia diliges proximum, etc. Wherefore us thenkes that the Gift of temporel Godes to Prestes, and to Almes-Houses, is principal cause of special Praier, the which is no ferr fro Symony. Another Skil for special Praier, mad for Men, dampned to everlastand Payne, is to God gretly displesant, and thow it be dowt, it is likli to trewe Christes Peple, that the Fownders of Almes-Howses, for her venymous Dotation ben for the most part passed the wode Wey. The Correlary is, the Prayer of value springand out of perfect Charite schold embrace in general, al tho that God wold hav saved, and leve Merchaundys now usyd for spiritual Prayers, ymade to Mendicaunts, Possessioners, and other soul Prestes, the which ben a Pepel of grete charge to al the Reme mayntenyd in Idlenes; for it was proved

in

rum, qui ſunt populus magni oneris toti regno manutenentes in otio; quia probatum extitit in quodam libro quem Rex audivit, quod centum domus elemoſinarum ſufficerent toti regno, & ex hoc contingeret maximum commodum poſſibile parti temporali.

Octava quæſtio neceſſaria referri populo decepto, peregrinationes, orationes, & oblationes, cæcis imaginibus crucifixi & ſurdis imaginibus de ligno & lapide ſunt propinquæ naturæ Idolatriæ & multum diſtant ab operibus caritatis ſive elemoſinæ, & quamvis prohibitæ imagines ſint liber erroris populo laicali, adhuc imagine ſanctæ Trinitatis uſualis eſt maxime abominabilis. Hanc quæſtionem Deus apertè monſtravit, mandando operam miſericordiæ fieri hominibus indigentibus quia ipſi ſunt imago Dei in majori ſimilitudine quam lignum vel lapis; quia Deus non dixit, Faciamus lignum vel lapidem, &c. ſed

in a Boke, that the Kyng hard that a hundreth of Almes-Houſ fulfilled to all the Reme, and there ſchold fal the gretest encreaſe poſſibil to Temporel Parti.

The eight Concluſion nedful to tell to the Pepel begiled, is the Pilgrinage, Prayers and Offering made to blind Rodes, and to dede Ymages of Tre and of Ston, that be ner of kyn to Idolatri, and fer fra Almes Dede. And thow this forboden Ymageri, be a Boke of Error to the lewde Pepul, yit the Ymage uſuel of the Trinitie, is moſt abhominable. This Concluſion God openly ſchews, commandyng to do Almes-Dede to Men that be nedy, for that be the Ymage of God in a mor liknes than the Stok or Stone: for God ſais not, faciamus lignum ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem noſtram, bot faciamus

ſed hominem ad ſimilitudinem noſtram, quia altus honor latria à Clericis vocatus ſoli debetur Deitati; & honor vocatus dulia debetur homini vel Angelis, & aliis creaturis inferioribus. Correlarium: officium de ligno crucis bis in anno celebratum in noſtra Eccleſia eſt plenum idolatria, quia ſi lignum crucis, Chriſti lancea, & clavi eſſent tanto honore venerandi, tunc labia Judæ proditoris ſolennes eſſent reliquiæ, ſi quis poſſet illa obtinere: ſed nos rogamus te peregrine quam oblationem facis oſſibus ſanctorum incriſmatorum in aliquo loco ut intendis relevare indulgentiam ſanctam in Cœlo, vel domus pauperis Elemoſinariæ quæ ita bene dotatur, qui Deus novit quomodo homines qui modo canonizantur, & ut apertius loquamur fideles Chriſti ſupponunt quod puncta propter quæ moriebatur nobilis vir quem homines appellant ſanctum Thomam, non ſunt cauſa Martyrii nec fuerunt.

ciamus hominem, etc. for the hey Worchip that Clerkes clepen Latria, longes to the Godhede alone; and the low Worchip that they clepen Dulia, perteneth to Man and to Angels, and to lower Creatures. The Correlary is, that the Service of the Rode tre doun twyes every yer in our Chirch, is ful filled of Ydolatrie; for if the Rode-tre, Nail, Sper, and the Crowne of God schaul be so heyle worchiped, than were Judas Lippes, who so myght han gete a wonder gret Relick. But we pray the Pilgrime us to tell, what thow offers to Seintes schryned in any place, whether releves you the Seint that is in Blis, or the poze Almes-Hous that is so well endowed for Men canonized God wot how. And to speke moze in plain, trew Christen Men suppoſen, that the point of that noble Man, that Men clepen Seint Thomas, were no cauſe of Martirdome.

Nona

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Nona quæſtio quæ deprimit populum, eſt quod articulus confeſſionis dictus neceſſarius hominum ſalvationi cum poteſtate ficta vel prætenſa abſolutionis, exaltat ſacerdotum ſuperbiam, & dat iis opportunitatem occultæ vocationis alterius quam dicere volumus in præſenti: quia Domini & Dominæ ſunt arreſtati propter timorem ſuorum confeſſorum qui non audent dicere veritatem: & tempus cõfeſſionis eſt tempus valde aptum precationi & continuationis peccatorum mortalium; dicunt etiam ſe eſſe commiſſarios Dei ad judicandum de quolibet peccato ad deformandum & purgandum illos quos volunt. Dicunt ſe habere claves Cœli & Inferni, & excommunicare poſſunt vel benedicere, ligare vel ſolvere ſecundum propriam eorum voluntatem in tantum quod propter burſellum frumenti vel duodecim denarios annuatim ipſi volunt vendere gloriã regni cœleſtis cum clauſa Waranti-

The nint Concluſion that holdes the Pepel low is, that the Articles of Confeſſion that is ſaid neceſſari to Salvacion of Man, with a feyned Power of Abſolucion, enhaunceth Prieſtes Pride, and gyf hem opꝛtunite of pꝛive calling, other than we will now ſay. Foꝛ Lordes and Ladys ben arreſted that foꝛ fere of here Confeſſours they dur not ſeyn a Trewth. And in tyme of Confeſſion is the beſt tyme of Wowing, and of pꝛive Continuance of dedely Synne. Thai ſeyn thai ben Comiſſaries of God to deme of every Synne, to foulen and to clenſe whom ſo thai like. Thei ſai that thai habe the Keyes of Heben and of Hell, they may curſe and bleſs, bynd and unbynd, at her own will; inſomuch that foꝛ a Buſſhel of Whete oꝛ twelve Pence be yer, thei will ſell the Bliſs of Heben be Chartir, of Clauſe, of Warrantiſe en ſele with the commun Sele. This

Con-

tisationis sigillata communi sigillo eorum. Hæc quæstio est visa in usu, quæ alia non indiget probatione.

Correlarium: Papa Romanus se fingit altum thesaurarium totius Ecclesiæ, habens dignum jocale passionis Christi in custodiá, cum meritis omnium sanctorum Cœli, per quod dat fictam indulgentiam à pœnâ & à culpâ, est thesaurizarius maxime bannitus extra caritatem ex quo potest liberare omnes prisinarios existentes in pœnis ad voluntatem propriam, & scriptum facere nunquam venire ibidem: sed quamlibet Christianus fidelis bene potest videre quod multa secreta falsitas est abscondita in Ecclesia nostra.

Hæc est decima quæstio; Homicidium per bellum vel per legem justiciæ aliquam prætensam perpetratum propter causam temporalem vel spiritualem sine speciali revelatione expresse est contrarium novo Testamento, quod est lex gratiæ & plenum misericordiæ. Hæc quæstio

Conclusion is so seen in use, that it nedyth no other Prof.

Correlarium, The Pope of Rome that feynet him hey Tresorer of holi Chirch, havand the worthi Jewel of Christes Passion in yys keppyng with the Delertes of al hollowen of Heaven, by which he geveth the feyned Pardon, à pœnâ & à culpâ, he is a Tresorer wost bannyst out of Charite feyn he may delivor the Prisoners that ben in payn at his own will, and mak himself so that he shall never com there: Her may every trew Christen Man wel se that ther mich pryve falshede hid in our Chirche.

The tent Conclusion is, that Manslaut be batail or onn Law of Rigtwisenes, for temporel Cause or spirituel, without special Revelacion, is expresse contrarious to the New Testament, the which is a Law of Grece and full of Mercy. This Conclusion is opon-

ly

quæſtio manifeſtè probatur exemplo Chriſti prædicantis hic in terra, qui maximè docuit dimittere inimicis & miſereri adverſariorum,& non occidere eos: cujus ratio eſt, pro majori enim parte quando homines pugnant poſt primum ictum dirumpitur caritas, & quicunque caritate in morte exuitur, tranſit recta via ad inferna. Et ultra hoc nos bene novimus quod nullus clericus ſcit per ſacram ſcripturam invenire vel rationem legalem oſtendere quod pœna mortis eſt infligenda potius uni peccato mortali quam alteri; ſed lex miſericordiæ quæ eſt novum teſtamentum, prohibet omne homicidium in evangelio, dictum eſt antiquitus non occides.

Correlarium eſt, ſancta ſpoliatio pauperis populi, quando Domini † premant indulgentias à pœna & à culpa hiis qui ſubſidia conferunt exercitui eorum collecto ad interficiendum Chriſtianum populum in terris remotis propter

ly proved be enſample of Chriſtes Preching here in Erthe, the wyche moſt taught for to lowe and have mercy of his Enemys, and nogt for to ſle hem. The reaſon is of this, that for the more Party ther Men fight, after the firſt Stroke Charite is ybroke, and who ſo deyth out of Charite goth the hy wey to Hell. And over this, we know wele that no Clerk can fynde be Scripture or be Reaſon, lawful puniſchyment of Deth, for on dedely Synne and not for another. Bot the Law of Mercy, that is the New Teſtament, forbede al Manſlaugte in Evangelio, dictum eſt antiquis non occides.

The Corelary is, it is holi robbing of the pore Pepil wham Lordes purchas Indulgence, à pœnâ & à culpâ, to hem, that helpeth to his oſt to * al the Chriſten Men in ferre Londes for temporel Goode as we hat ſeen,

I think it ſhould be præmiant.

* *Inſtead of* all *perhaps it ſhould be* kill.

propter bona temporalia obtinenda ſicut alias fieri vidimus, & milites qui diſcurrunt ad Paganiam vel Sarracenos ad obtinendum ſibi magnum nomen in occiſione hominum, acquirunt ſibi indignationem magnam Regis pacis, quia per humilitatem & tolerantiam lex noſtra extitit multiplicata,& pugnatores ac homicidas odit Chriſtus,& eiſdem minatur dicens, Qui gladio percutit gladio peribit.

Concluſio undecima verecunda; dictum votum continenciæ factum in noſtra Eccleſia à mulieribus quæ ſunt fragiles & inperfectæ in natura, eſt cauſa horribiliſſimi peccati poſſibilis naturæ humanæ; quia quamvis occiſio puerorum ante baptiſmum eorum, procuratio aborcii, aut deſtructio ſeminum ante formatum fœtum, facta per medicinas, ſint gravia peccata valde: adhuc conjunctio mutua fœminarum contra naturam in actu carnali, vel earum coitus cum beſtia irrationali, vel cum

and knygtes that renne to Peyennes to geten hem a Name, in ſleyng of Men get mych maugre of the Kyng of Pees; for be Meknes and Sufferaunce, our Beleve was multiplied, and Figters and Manſleyers, hem Chriſt hateth and manaſſeth, Qui gladio percutit gladio peribit.

The eleven Concluſion ys ſcham for to ſay, that the avowe of Continence made in our Chirch of Wymmen, the wych ben febil and unperfite in kynd, is cauſe of bynging of moſt horrybel Synne poſſible to Mankynd; for thow ſleyng of Children or thei ben Chriſtened, abortyſe, or ſtroyng of Kind be Medicine ben ful ſynful: yit knowing hem ſel, or unreaſonable Beſt, or Creature that bereth no, paſſyd in Worthineſs to ben puniſched in paynes of Hell.

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cum creatura inſenſibili non viva, tranſcendit in demeritoria actione, dignum pœnis inferni.

Correlarium; Nos vellemus quod viduæ & tales quæ voverunt caſtitatem, inveſtitæ annulo & mantello, delicioſè paſtæ, vel delicatè nutritæ eſſent deſponſatæ, quia eas neſcimus excuſare de occultis peccatis.

Duodecima quæſtio; Multitudo artium non neceſſariarum homini in noſtra Eccleſia, multum peccatum nutrit in ſuperflua curioſitate & diffiguratione hominum per veſtes curioſas: hoc oſtendit experientia, & ratio probat, quia natura cum paucis artibus ſufficeret humanæ naturæ.

Correlarium; Ex quo Apoſtolus Paulus dicit, habentes victum & quibus tegamur, his contenti ſimus; nobis videtur quod aurifabri, & fabri armorum, & omnia genera artium non neceſſariarum homini ſecundum Apoſtolum, deſtrui debent propter augmentum virtutum:

The Correlary is, that Wydewes, and ſuch as han taken the Mantel, and the Ryng, delicioullych fed, we wold thei were wedded, for we ne can excuſe hem of pyvy Synnes.

The twelf Concluſion is, that the multitude of Craftes nogt nedful uſed in our Chirche norisch mykel Synne in waſt Curioſity and diſgyſing. This ſchewes Experience, and Reaſon proveth, for Nature with a few Craftes ſufficed to nede of Man.

The Correlary is, that ſais Seint Poule, we havand our bodily Fode, and cleying we ſchuld hold us payed. As think that Goldſmythes and Armorers, and al manner Craftes, not nedful to Man after the Apoſtel, ſchuld be deſtryed, for the encres of Virtu. For thow

tunt: quia quamvis istæ duæ artes nominatæ, necessariæ fuerunt in veteri lege; novum tamen Testamentum has artes cum multis aliis evacuavit.

this two Crafftes nemed wer mych more needful in the Old Law, the New Testament has voyded these and many other.

I suppose it is not necessary, after the Perusal of this Piece, to observe that the *Romish Clergy* cast those Crimes upon the *Lollards*, whereof themselves were guilty, and which the *Lollards* laid to their Charge in the Face of Heaven and Earth.

It will be said perhaps that this Petition contains several Errors: I own it: but we are to observe, 1*st*, That it is part of the Frailty of Mankind, to fall into the contrary Extream, whilst we endeavour to avoid those things that appear to us to be mortal. 2*dly*, That these Failings may be easily extenuated by the same Charity which we commonly make use of, when we speak of the Ancienest Fathers of the Church.

But this will some object, respects only the *Lollards* of *England*, and cannot be extended to the justifying of the *Lollards* of *Germany*, who might have been guilty of the Crimes whereof they are accused. To this Objection I answer: 1*st*, That since the *Lollards*, according to the Testimony of *Kilianus*, reported by M. du *Cange*, were the same with the *Waldenses*; the Bishop of *Meaux* hath already drawn up their Apology, by maintaining that they differed only in a very few things from the Papists. 2*dly*, That if one should reject the Bishop's Opinion, yet sufficient Matter for their Justification may be found in the Writings of the more honest Authors of the *Romish* Communion, such as *Æneas Sylvius* and some others, without speaking of their own Writings or Apologies, whereof we have some few Remnants printed.

Be it as it will, to return to our English *Lollards*; *Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments*, gives us a Bull of Pope *Boniface* IX, directed to *John* Bishop of *Hereford*, to oblige him to put King *Richard* II, upon persecuting of them. As likewise the Bull sent to King *Richard* on the same Subject, which imports, that

Tom. 1. p. 574, & 575.

that he had commanded the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, to proſecute them with the utmoſt Rigor and Severity; and afterwards ſets down the Commiſſion of *Richard* II, for the Trial of one *Walter Brute*, one of that Party.

He hath alſo given us the Hiſtory of the Manner of their being hang'd and burnt by the King's Order in 1414. But becauſe it will be of moment to acquaint the Publick, in what Points they chiefly differ'd from the Church of *Rome*; and becauſe there is come into my Hands a Regiſter of ſome of the antient Biſhops of *Salisbury*, wherein are contained many Trials of theſe antient Chriſtians, I thought it neceſſary to add ſome of thoſe Trials at the end of this Book, faithfully copied from the Original. There is no doubt but that there are many of them in the Regiſters of *Canterbury*, of *York*, and of ſeveral other Sees, which could demonſtrate, that the *Romiſh* Clergy have never, till the very Reformation, omitted their utmoſt Endeavours towards the Extirpation, by Fire and Fagot, of all thoſe that rebuked them for their Vices, and for the Corruption of their Doctrine.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Doctrine of Wicklef *and his Disciples, in* England.

BUT whether the *Lollards* maintain'd the Doctrine of the *Albigenses* in *England* or no, certain it is, that it received new Lustre from the Learning of *Wickleſ*, and those who joined with him in the defence of the Truth, against the Friars and Court of *Rome*. My Design is not to examine the whole History of *Wickleſ*, and of his Disciples, to the bottom: The Bishop of *Meaux* hath done his Endeavours to blacken them, and to load them with the foulest Calumnies; I only say in short, that the Bishop did not take the pains to consult what Mr. *Wood* hath writ on this Subject, in his *History of the University of* Oxford; where he cites the Registers of the University, which refute the greatest part of those Slanders that the *Romish* Party have published against *Wickleſ*.

However, thus much is evident, that *John Wickleſ* was the most renowned Man of that Age, both for Learning and Piety. He had been Educated at the University of *Oxford*, where Scholastical Divinity had establish'd its Empire, by the Care of *Robert Grosthead*, *John Duns*, *Occam*, *Richard* of *Armagh*, and divers others. He there publickly profess'd Divinity, and was at last made Rector of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, where he died peaceably, after great and long Troubles, which he suffered for the defence of the Truth.

The Pope had at this time usurped almost the whole Royal Authority, and more especially in *England*, where, after King *John* had made himself a Vassal of the Church of *Rome*, under *Innocent* III, the Popes commanded the Kings of *England* at pleasure. We see by the Writings of *Herveus Brito*, who wrote at *Paris* about the Beginning of this Century, where

where he was Profeſſor, that the temporal Power over all the World was directly attributed to the Pope, neither did any Kings oppoſe themſelves againſt it. It is well known that the Canoniſts, who had then the Reputation, had no other Song in their Mouths but that of the Pope's Divinity, his Succeſſion to the Rights of Jeſus Chriſt, and conſequently his abſolute Empire over all the World. This we meet with in all their Writings, and more eſpecially in thoſe who writ in defence of the Popes, againſt the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*.

The Friars Mendicants, whom Cardinal *Albizi* did very truly call the Pope's Souldiers, had uſurped all the Rights of the Secular Clergy, and advanc'd their Conqueſts for the Pope to that Degree, that the Authority of the Princes and Biſhops ſignified nothing any longer in *England*, except only when they acted in favour of the Monks. From the time of *Matthew Paris*, who gives us ſo ſtrange a Deſcription of their Inſolence, and of their Attempts againſt the Authority of the Clergy, things were carried to that height, that nothing was any longer able to oppoſe them.

Without doubt there was great need of Courage, as great as *Wickleſ*'s was, and Learning too as vaſt as his, to ſtop ſo impetuous a Torrent. This great Man ſet himſelf againſt it, and carried on his Deſign after ſuch a manner, that the Effects and Conſequences of it, continued to the very Reformation. It would take up a Volume to give a particular Account of what he wrote in the Reigns of *Edward* III, and *Richard* II. I ſhall content my ſelf to take notice only of ſome few Particulars, and I ſhall afterwards treat of his Doctrine, which diffus'd it ſelf through *Germany*, and brought about a great Reformation there.

1. He publickly oppos'd in his Profeſſor's Chair, ſeveral Errors of the Church of *Rome*, which the Monks and Popes by their Authority, endeavour'd to maintain and countenance; in which Undertaking, he was always back'd by the Body of that Univerſity, where he had taught ſo long time.

2. He

2. He maintain'd his Doctrine by the Favour of the Court, and the moſt illuſtrious and learned Members thereof, and with ſo great a Satisfaction of the People, that *Knighton* is obliged to acknowledg, that one half, yea, the greater Part of the People, owned his Doctrine.

3. He had made ſo great Progreſs amongſt the Clergy, that he writes himſelf, that above a third Part of the Clergy were ready to defend his Doctrine with the hazard of their Lives: Accordingly, he appeared boldly at the Synod of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in *February* 1377, to give an account of his Doctrine; where he defended himſelf with that Vigor, that none durſt gainſay him. He appeared there again the ſame Year in *May*, neither durſt the Archbiſhop then decide any thing againſt him. And when in the year 1382, they in his Abſence, condemned ſome Articles which he maintain'd, yet he was there defended by the Deputies of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who gave a publick and authentick Teſtimony of his Piety, and his Purity in the Faith.

4. The Univerſity of *Oxford* had eſpouſed his Quarrel with the Church of *Rome* ſo far, that after his having been attack'd by a Council at *London*, in 1382, and after having maintain'd his Doctrine from the year 1367 with publick applauſe, his Writings continued recommended by a Decree of the Univerſity, to all the Students both in the Publick Schools and Colledges, and were not forc'd from them, till after his Condemnation, which happened at the Council of *Conſtance*, 28 years after his Death. We ſee the Eſteem *Wickleff* had in that Univerſity, by the Teſtimony they gave in 1406, againſt thoſe that endeavour'd to blemiſh the Memory of this great Man: for after they had ſpoken of his Piety and Probity, as of a Thing known to all Men, after they had declared that he was a couragious Defender of the Faith, they add, *Qui ſingulos mendicitate ſpontaneâ Chriſti Religionem blaſphemantes, ſacræ Scripturæ ſententiis catholicè expugnavit:* "That he had in a Catholick Way, by "Texts of Scripture, overthrown all thoſe, who by a vo- "luntary Poverty blaſphemed the Religion of Chriſt.

P. 203. Hiſt. & antiq. Univerſit. *Oxon.*

And

And ſince the *Romiſh* Party had not at that time a more formidable Enemy than *Wickleſ*, they were not wanting to muſter all their Forces in order to ſuppreſs his Doctrine. In the Year 1396, *William Woodeford*, a Cordelier, was choſen by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to write againſt *Wickleſ*'s Trialogue, which he did accordingly, refuting 18 Articles of his Doctrine. This Book is printed in the *Faſciculus*.

In the Year 1411, *Thomas Walden* an *Engliſh-man*, deputed to the Council of *Conſtance*, dedicated his *Doctrinal* to Pope *Martin* V, againſt *Wickleſ*, where he accuſeth him of above 800 Errors. This Monk, as able as he was, was really one of the moſt paſſionate Diſputers that ever writ: but withal it is true alſo, that to follow his Meaſures, we can ſcarcely imagine a more particular Diſcuſſion of the Errors, Superſtitions and falſe Suppoſitions, which the Church of *Rome* makes uſe of to maintain her Errors and falſe Worſhip, than that which *Wickleſ* made uſe of. In the Account that *Walden* gives of it, we meet with a great Knowledg of Holy Scripture, and great Skill in Antiquity, whoſe Authority he makes uſe of to confound the *Romiſh* Novelties; we diſcover there a great ſtrength in his way of reaſoning, and an extraordinary Method in his Conſequences; ſo that he ſeems to have fully penetrated the Weakneſs of the *Romiſh* Cauſe, and overthrown its whole Foundations.

One may plainly diſcover this, by running over the Titles of the *Doctrinal* of *Thomas Walden*, upon Matters of Faith, upon the Sacraments, upon thoſe which he calls ſacramental things, or that belong to Sacraments; for we ſcarcely meet with any Articles controverted between the Church of *Rome* and the *Proteſtants*, which *Wickleſ* hath not touched and handled, and that with ſufficient Exactneſs too. This hath obliged the Papiſts with ſo much Care to reprint *Walden*'s Works againſt *Wickleſ*, as containing a Body of their Controverſies againſt the Proteſtants.

I am not ignorant that *Walden* objects ſome very harſh and impious Opinions to him, and that the Council of *Conſtance* has mingled ſeveral of that Nature amongſt the 45 Articles of *Wickleſ*, which are there condemned. But here I muſt deſire

my Reader to call to mind four things. 1*ſt*, That *Woodeford* hath objected no ſuch thing to *Wickleſ*, which ſhews that he never taught any like Doctrine, but that they are only Conſequences drawn by a ſcholaſtical Divine, who was uſed to carry things too far. 2*dly*, That *Walden* wrote at a time when the Popiſh Party had the upper-hand in the Court of *Henry* V, who had condemned the *Wickleſites* as guilty of high Treaſon, which *Walden* takes notice of in his Dedication to *Martin* V. 3*dly*, That it is very probable that this Catalogue of 45 Articles was drawn up by *Walden* himſelf, who was preſent at the Council of *Conſtance*, on purpoſe to promote *Wickleſ*'s Condemnation. 4*thly*, That the Council of *Conſtance* was the firſt, where by publick Conſent that Maxim, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, was ever put in Practice. Now let any one judg what Equity or Truth can be expected from Villains of ſuch profligate Principles, who think it an Honour to act in every thing according to them?

After all this I might well excuſe my ſelf from ſetting down the Opinions of *Wickleſ*, or from ſaying any thing for his Juſtification; but I am willing to do both the one and the other, for the Honour of this great Man, and for the Readers Satisfaction. The Opinions of *Wickleſ* with relation to the Doctrine of Proteſtants, are theſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Calumnies that have been unjuſtly charged upon Wicklef *by the Papiſts.*

1. WIckleſ owns but 22 Canonical Books of Scripture, excluding all the reſt, which he calls Apocryphal (*a*). (*a*) De ver. ſcript. pag. 110.

2. He teaches that the Scripture contains all things neceſſary to Salvation. "Foraſmuch, *ſaith he*, as in Scripture all "Truth is contained, it is evident that all Diſputes that take "not their Riſe thence, are prophane (*b*). We are not to "admit any Knowledg or Concluſion, which hath not its "Teſtimony from Scripture (*c*). (*b*) Ibid. pag. 39. (*c*) Ibid. pag. 66.

3. He affirms, that every well-diſpoſed Chriſtian may underſtand the Holy Scripture (*d*). "God hath appointed the "common ſenſible Scripture, to the comprehending of the "Catholick Senſe, whereof God can never be wanting, be"cauſe he always enlightneth ſome particular Men, to which "Illumination Holineſs of Life conduceth very much, and it "is the Duty of Divines to continue it in our Mother the "Church, which ought to keep within her Bounds; ſo that "it is not lawful for Divines to frame ſtrange Doctrines, be"ſides the Faith of Catholick Scripture. For which End he lays down ſeveral Rules for the Underſtanding of the Scriptures. (*d*) Ibid. p. 205.

4. He aſſerts that the Scriptures ought to be tranſlated into the vulgar Tongue. "(*e*) The Truth of God, *ſaith he*, is not "more confined to one Language than to another. (*f*) Jeſus "Chriſt delivered the Lord's Prayer in a known Language. (*g*) "Why then may not the Goſpel and other parts of Scripture "be writ in *Engliſh* ? (*h*) The Clergy ought to rejoice that the "People know the Law of God. It was for this Reaſon that he tranſlated the whole Bible, whereof ſeveral Copies are ſtill to be found in the King's Library, and in ſeveral other Libraries in *England*. (*e*) Lib. Miſcell. pag. 24. (*f*) Ibid. pag. 25. (*g*) Ibid. pag. 24. (*h*) Ibid. pag. 26.

We may eaſily know what he thought of Tradition from theſe Words. " (*i*) We have a perfect Knowledg of all " things neceſſary to Salvation, from the Faith of Scrip- " ture. (*k*) Decrees, Statutes and Rites, that are added ac- " cording to humane Traditions, are all inſeparably ſinful, " becauſe they make the Law of God more difficult to be " kept, and hinder the Courſe of God's Word. (*l*) Traditi- " ons are hateful to God and the Church, except only ſo far " as they are grounded on Scripture. (*m*) Mens own Inven- " tions are chiefly to get Money: (*n*) they all ſound for the " Churches Gain.

(*i*) De ver. ſcript. pag. 108.
(*k*) Art. 41. Oxon. condemnatus Reg. Acad.
(*l*) De verit. ſcript. pag. 411.
(*m*) Ibid. pag. 333.
(*n*) Ibidem.

1. See what he ſaith of the Pope's Authority. " (*o*) In " *Conſtantine*'s time the Prieſthood was removed; and it was " not decreed, that the Biſhop of that Church ſhould neceſſa- " rily have a Primacy over all others, as is here ſuppoſed. " (*p*) Neither do I believe that any Catholick is ſo fooliſh as to " believe, that when Chriſt's Vicar writes, Let it be done, " and he, who ſpake the Word and all things were made, " doth not approve of it, he hath any Right to command, be- " cauſe of him alone it can be ſaid with Truth, So I will, " and ſo I command, let my Will ſtand inſtead of Reaſon. And accordingly he was condemned by the Council of *Con- ſtance* for believing, (*q*) That it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe the Pope to be the Higheſt Prieſt, and that Chriſt never approved of any ſuch Dignity, neither in *Peter* nor in any one elſe.

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 565.
(*p*) Expoſitio Decalogi, p. 5.
(*q*) Art. 17. damnat. in Syn. Conſt.

2. Of the Power which the Popes aſſume to themſelves over the Temporalities of Kings, *Wickleſ* wrote a particular Treatiſe, intituled *De Civili Dominio*, to overthrow their Claims, where he ſpeaks thus: " In Civil Power there cannot " be two Lords of equal Authority, the one muſt be princi- " pal, and the other ſubordinate. We will not ſubject our " King in this matter to him, when he beſtowing any Mort- " main, reſerves to himſelf the capital Dominion.

Pag. 67.

3. He did not believe the Pope's Infallibility. " (*r*) The " Pope may ſin as Head of the Church: (*ſ*) He may ſin by " Nature, having a capital Lord above him. (*t*) There is no " doubt but that an Error may be committed in the Election " of a Pope, and yet more in his following Converſation.

(*r*) De ver. ſcript. pag. 456.
(*ſ*) Expoſ. Decal. p. 123.
(*t*) De ver. ſcript. pag. 457.

" He

" (*u*) He may err in Feeding the Churches, or in Articles of the " Faith. (*w*) Many Popes have been corrupted with heretical " Pravity. He believed it was probable, (*x*) **That all the " Biſhops of Rome for 300 Years and more before his time, were fully Hereticks.**

4. He made no Difficulty of ſaying, that the Pope was the chiefeſt Antichriſt (*y*).

1. *Wickleſ* informs us what his Thoughts were of the Church of *Rome*, when he ſaith, " (*z*) It is poſſible that the Lord " Pope may be ignorant of the Law of Scripture, and the " Church of *England* may be far truer in her Judgment of Ca- " tholick Truth, than the whole Church of *Rome* that is made " up of the Pope and Cardinals.

2. He maintains that the Church of *Rome* may err, but that this doth not hinder, but that the Purity of Doctrine may be preſerved in the Catholick Church. " (*a*) It is ne- " ceſſary, *ſays he*, That the Catholick Faith be in the whole " Mother-Church.

3. He did not believe that wicked Men were true Mem- bers of the Church, and cenſures thoſe who teach, that Men who ſhall be damned are notwithſtanding Members of the Church, ſo joining Chriſt and the Devil: (*b*) **They teachen " together**, ſaith he, **that tho Men that ſhall be damned " be Members of Holy Church, and thus they wedden Chriſt " and the Devil together**: he ſaith, that unbelieving and un- " godly Men (*c*), **are in the Holy Church by Body, not by " Thought; by Name, not by Deed; in Number, not by " Merit.**

As to the Doctrine of Juſtification, it is very plain, that he was not of the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, as theſe Words ſhew: " (*d*) The Merit of Chriſt is of it ſelf ſuffici- " ent to redeem every Man from Hell; (*e*) 'tis to be under- " ſtood of a Sufficiency of it ſelf, without any other con- " curring Cauſe. (*f*) All that follow Chriſt, being juſtified " by his Righteouſneſs, ſhall be ſaved as his Offſpring.

He rejects the Doctrine of the Merit of Works, and falls upon thoſe (*g*) which ſay, " **That God did not all for them, " but think that their Merits help. (*h*) Heal us Lord for nought,**

" that

(*u*) De Blaſphem. pag. 30.
(*w*) De verit. ſcript. pag. 181.
(*x*) Ibid. pag. 55.
(*y*) De verit. Serm. pag. 590.
(*z*) De ver. ſcript. pag. 182.
(*a*) Ibid. pag. 105.
(*b*) Contr. Frat. mendic. pag. 39.
(*c*) Comm. in Pſal. pag. 2. in Præf.
(*d*) De ver. ſcript. p. 552.
(*e*) Ibid. pag. 553.
(*f*) Ibid. pag. 550.
(*g*) Com. in Pſal. p. 474.
(*h*) Ibid. p. 182.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 368. "that is, no Merit of ours, but for thy Mercy: (*i*) Lord, not to "us, but to thy Mercy give thy Joy.

As for what concerns the Lord's Supper, we find that this great Man did not believe Tranſubſtantiation: See how he expreſſes himſelf "(*k*) This Bread is fairly, truly and really, "ſpiritually, virtually and ſacramentally the Body of Chriſt; (*l*) "as St. *John* the Baptiſt was figuratively *Elias*, and not perſo- "nally. (*m*) As Chriſt is both God and Man at once, ſo the "conſecrated Hoſt is the Body of Chriſt, and true Bread at "the ſame time, becauſe it is the Body of Chriſt at leaſt, in a "Figure, and true Bread in its Nature; or, which ſignifies "the ſame thing, it is true Bread naturally, and the Body of "Chriſt figuratively. He conſtantly affirmed that this Do- "ctrine (*n*) **lacked in the Church for a thouſand years, till** "Sathanas **was unbound, and** (*o*) **the People blinded by Fri-** "**ars, with the Hereſy of Accidents without Subjects.**

(*k*) Confeſſ. de ſacr. Euch. p. 58.
(*l*) Art. 4. in Syn. Conſt. damnat.
(*m*) Art. 49. Oxon. damnat.
(*n*) De Blaſph. pag. 40.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 37.

1. He owned but two Sacraments, as appears by the 45*th*, 46*th*, 47*th*, and 48*th* Articles, condemned at *Oxford*, and in the Council of *Conſtance*.

2. (*p*) He was againſt the Uſe of Chriſm in Baptiſm.

(*p*) Art. 43. in Syn. Conſt. damnat.

3. He maintained that extream Unction was not a Sacra- ment. "(*q*) If corporal Unction were a Sacrament, as now "is pretended, Chriſt and his Apoſtles would not have been "wanting to declare it to the World.

(*q*) Art. 98. Oxon. damn. vid. *Wald.* T. 2. pag. 268.

4. His Opinion concerning Confirmation, as it is practiſed amongſt the Papiſts, he expreſſeth thus. "As for the Oil "wherewith the Biſhops anoint Children, and the linnen "Coif that covers the Head, it ſeems to be a vain Ceremo- "ny, that can have no Foundation in Scripture, and that this "Confirmation being introduced without any Apoſtolical "Authority, is Blaſphemy againſt God.

Art. 8. in Syn. Conſt. damn.

1. He declam'd againſt the Uſe of Images with great Earneſtneſs. "(*r*) We ought to preach, *ſaith he*, againſt "the Coſtlineſs, Beautifulneſs, and other Arts of cheating, "wherewith we impoſe upon Strangers, rather to pick their "Pockets, than for the Propagation of Chriſt's Religion. (*ſ*) "The Devil by his Falſhood deludes many, who ſometimes "ſuppoſe a Miracle to have been wrought, when indeed it "was

(*r*) Exp. Decal. p. 48.
(*ſ*) Ibid. p. 48.

" was nothing but a Cheat. (*t*) The Poiſon of Idolatry lies " hid in continued Imagination. (*t*) Ibid.

2. One may ſee how he diſtinguiſheth Sins. " (*u*) **Some " Sins are called little Sins in compariſon of greater, and " (*w*) venial, becauſe God's Son forgives them.** (*u*) Miſcell. p. 182. (*w*) De 7. pec. mort.

3. He did not own the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion: " (*x*) Vocal Confeſſion made to the Prieſt, introduc'd " by *Innocent*, is not ſo neceſſary. (*y*) If a Man be truly con- " trite, all outward Confeſſion is ſuperfluous and unprofi- " table to him. (*x*) Art. 9. in Syn. Conſt. damnat. (*y*) Art. 9. Londin. damnat.

4. He wrote againſt the Doctrine of Satisfaction. " * The " preſent Pope has reaſon to bluſh for the modern Penance, " eſtabliſhed by him without any Ground, ſince it is not " lawful for any Mortals, no not for the Apoſtles themſelves, " to make the Law of God difficult, beyond what he him- " ſelf hath limited. * Art. 47. Oxon. damnat.

5. His Judgment concerning Pardons and Indulgences he expreſſeth in theſe Words: " † It is a fooliſh thing to rely upon " the Indulgences of the Pope and the Biſhops. †Art. 42. Lond. damn.

6. He gives this Rule concerning Faſting. " ‖ In Works of " Humanity we muſt follow Chriſt, by doing ſuch Works " as bear ſome Proportion with his.—We muſt faſt 40 Days " from Sin, and as far as is poſſible to Nature, from ſuper- " fluous corporal Food. ‖ De ver. ſcript. pag. 8.

7. Concerning Monks and their Vows, he ſpeaks thus; (*z*) " **Friars ſtudien to be rich: (*a*) they rob Men by begging.** " ——**Touch a great Cup of Gold or Silver, but not a Penny " or Farthing. (*b*) They magnify more Obedience to ſinful " Men than to Chriſt.** (*z*) Vita ſacerd. p. 59. (*a*) Reg. S. Franc. p. 76. (*b*) Ibid. p. 77.

8. * He approved the Marriage of Prieſts. * Vid. de ver. ſcript. p. 370, 406, 407. & Miſcell. p. 63, 65.

9. He diſapproved the Practice of the Church of *Rome* in the Matter of Divorces. " † To make Divorce common, in- " numerable Subterfuges are invented. † Miſcell. p. 54. Exp. Decal. p. 117.

10. He blamed the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, in granting Diſpenſations for marrying in caſe of Propinquity of Blood. " ‖ Such Diſpenſations as theſe bring Confuſion into " the Church. ‖ De ver. ſcript. p. 399.

11. He

11. He condemned all Equivocation, which ſo many Caſuiſts of the Church of *Rome* pretend to juſtify *.

12. He maintains that the King ought not to be ſubject to any foreign Juriſdiction; " For otherwiſe, *ſaith he*, Kings " would not be able fully to keep the Peace in their own " Kingdoms †.

13. He blamed the too frequent Uſe of Excommunication ‖.

14. He maintained, " That a true Chriſtian ought not to " believe implicitly, but with an explicit Faith, that expreſſes " the Particulars, more or leſs according as they are more or " leſs obliged by God and his Gifts, and the Opportunity of " time *.

15. He had no great Veneration for the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, when he ſaith, " Whatſoever is ſaid of Purgatory, is " only ſpoke threatningly, as ſo many pious Lies †.

Thus we ſee what was *Wickleſ*'s Faith, and what his Judgment was concerning the Superſtitions and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; from whence we may gather that he came very near to the Belief of the Proteſtant Churches.

It was no difficult matter therefore for Dr. *James* to juſtify him againſt the horrid Calumnies of *Walden*, by conſulting his manuſcript Works, which are to be found in ſeveral Libraries in *England*.

1. They objected againſt him, that he taught, that if a Prieſt or a Biſhop ordains or conſecrates the Sacrament of the Altar, or adminiſters Baptiſm, whilſt he is in mortal Sin, it can do him no Service.

But the Falſhood of this Objection, appears from *Wickleſ*'s own Words, which aſſure us of the contrary; " Except " a Chriſtian, *ſaith he*, be united to Chriſt by Grace, he hath " not Chriſt the Saviour; nor without Falſhood, can he " pronounce the Sacramental Words, **Tho they may do good " to thoſe who are capable of them**: for it behoves the Prieſt " that conſecrates, to be a Member of Chriſt; and as ſome " holy Men expreſs it, to be in ſome ſort Chriſt himſelf ‖.

They objected againſt him, that he had aſſerted that it was not lawful for any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon to have any temporal Revenue. But

* Vid. Capitul. 15. de veric. ſcript. *where he handles this Subject at large, and* p 207.

† De ver. ſcript. p. 453.

‖ De ver ſcript. 368, 612. Exp. Dec. p. 124.

* De ver. ſcript. p. 111.

† De ver. ſcript. p. 267.

‖ De ver. ſcript. p. 138.

But nothing is more falſe, for *Wickleſ* only ſaith, that the Goods of the Clergy are temporal Things, what way ſoever they come by them; and that the Poſſeſſion of them, is to be regulated by the Laws, as well as the Eſtates of Laymen; " (*c*) **The Goods of ſpiritual Men, ſaith he, be temporal, in what manner ſoever they come to them, and muſt be ordered after the temporal Law, as the Goods of temporal Men muſt be.** (*c*) De fund. leg. Ang. Lib. 1. cap. 32.

They ſaid that it was his Opinion, that no Prelate ought to excommunicate any Perſon whatſoever, unleſs he knew that God himſelf had excommunicated him.

But *Wickleſ* only ſpeaks of thoſe raſh and precipitate Excommunications, which never fail to produce bad Effects, and which are only diſcharged from carnal Reſpects. " (*d*) They like the High-Prieſts, Scribes and Phariſees, do not only eat the Fleſh, but the very Bones too; they do not water what is dry with the Word of God, but endeavour to cut and break what is fat and full of Marrow. He ſaith alſo, " * that Excommunications are the Fruit of Pride, *to terrify poor Laymen.* (*d*) Exp. Decal. p. 130. * Ibid. p. 123.

They accus'd him of teaching, that a Man could not be either a Biſhop or Prieſt, as long as he continued in Mortal Sin.

But no ſuch thing can be inferr'd from *Wickleſ*'s Words; for he ſtill aiming at the Reformation of the Clergy, which was very corrupt in his time, did not carry it too far when he ſaid, " That (*e*) it is not the Name that makes a Biſhop, but the Life. (*f*) Whoſoever has only the Name of a Prieſt or Biſhop, and does not endeavour to add to that Name the reaſon of it, he is in truth neither Biſhop nor Prieſt. (*e*) De ver. ſcript. p. 443. (*f*) Ibid.

They affirm'd, that he had taught that Soveraigns might deprive the Clergy of their Poſſeſſions, if they thought good, as often as they committed any Fault.

But *Wickleſ* never pretended, that the Clergy ought to be deprived of the Goods they poſſeſſed for ſlight Faults. True it is, he did not think the Government was obliged to maintain ſo many uſeleſs Monks: but as to the Biſhops and Prieſts,

he never taught, that they ought to be deprived of their Benefices, except they made themſelves unworthy of them by a perfectly ſcandalous Life.

He taught, ſay they, that Tithes were only Alms, and that the Pariſhioners might keep them back, and put them to what other Uſes they pleaſed.

I own, that *Wickleſ* often ſaid, that Tithes were nothing elſe but meer Alms; but it is falſe, that ever he aſſerted that the Pariſhioners might keep them back: on the contrary, he ſaith, (*g*) "It belongs to Pariſhioners for the good of their "Souls, to miniſter Tithes and Oblations to whom they are "due. (*h*) The Prieſts of Chriſt ought to withdraw the Word "of God from thoſe who are not rightly diſpos'd for it; "that is, if the People ſhould be ſo obſtinate and diſobedient "to Holy-Mother the Church, as either to forbid, or not to "miniſter the Neceſſaries of Life to him who preaches the "Goſpel to them.

(*g*) De ver. ſcript. p. 415.

(*h*) Ibidem.

They object againſt him, that he deſpiſed temporal Things too much, for the Love which he had for thoſe that are eternal; and that he join'd himſelf to the Mendicant-Friars, approving their Poverty, and commending their Perfection. A ſtrange Crime indeed!

It is a ſurprizing Thing to ſee them accuſe *Wickleſ* upon this account; but it is no leſs aſtoniſhing to hear them aſſert, that he had great inclination for the Begging-Friars: to be convinc'd of the Falſity whereof, we need only read the complaint he made to the Parliament, and his Treatiſe againſt the Order of Begging-Friars.

He held, ſay they, that Church-men ought to beg.

Whereas on the contrary, he maintained that God had condemned Beggary, in the Old and New Teſtament. See the fifth Chapter of his Book againſt the Order of Friars Mendic.

They accuſe him for condemning lawful Oaths.

But this is for want of having read his Works; for it appears by his Latin *Expoſition of the third Commandment*, and by his Book *of the Truth of Scripture*, that he condemns all manner of Equivocations, and ambiguous Expreſſions, whether with Oaths or without. He will not have any one to lie for a World,

World, or to ſave an infinite number of Souls, and much leſs to ſwear falſly.

He taught, ſay they, that all Things come to paſs by an abſolute Neceſſity.

We may eaſily ſee what *Wickleſ* believ'd concerning this Matter. (*i*) " God promiſeth no Man either Reward or Puniſhment, but under either a tacit or expreſs Condition. " (*k*) Though all future Things do happen neceſſarily; yet " God wills that good Things happen to his Servants, through " the Efficacy of Prayer.

(*i*) De ver. ſcript. p. 383.

(*k*) Exp. Decal. p. 81.

He taught, ſaid they, Doctrines tending to Sedition; as, That the Magiſtrate ceaſeth to be a Magiſtrate, whilſt he is under Mortal Sin; and that it is lawful for the People to chaſtiſe their Princes, when ever they commit any Fault. This Accuſation is only founded upon this, that *Wickleſ* put the King, and all other inferiour Magiſtrates in mind, that they did not bear the Sword in vain. He ſaith, " If a King fails to " do his Duty, and deſpiſeth the Engagements that lie upon him to govern his Subjects well, that he is not properly nor truly King, that is to ſay, he doth not perform " the Duty of a King; (*l*) *Perdens nomen officii & ordinis in effectu*; " Loſing in effect the Name of his Office and Order: Which are the very Terms of *Bracton*, the moſt renowned Lawyer of *England*, who was never accuſed of endeavouring to incline the People to Rebellion.

(*l*) De ver. ſcript. p. 513.

They accuſed him of not having the Modeſty that a Divine ought to have, and that he was too much given to Raillery.

I grant that when he was a young Man he was blamed for this Fault, which he returned in a very edifying manner. " I take God to witneſs, *ſaith he*, that I principally intend the " Glory of God, and the Good of the Church, out of a Veneration for the Scripture, and Obſervance of the Law of " Chriſt; but if with this Intention there may have crept in " any ſiniſter Aim of Vain-glory, worldly Profit, and Deſire " of Revenge, I am ſorry for it, and by the Grace of God " ſhall endeavour to avoid it for the time to come.

De verit. ſcripturæ, pag. 145.

They accuſed *Wickleſ* that he was wont to diſſemble his Opinions, to avoid the danger which he might otherwiſe have drawn upon himſelf.

But we may with Truth give him this Teſtimony, that he was ſo little acquainted with diſſembling in Matters of Religion, that he was ready to ſuffer Death for moſt of the Opinions that he maintain'd againſt his Enemies. (*m*) " I am not ſuſpe-
(*m*) De ver. ſcript. p. 183. " cted, ſaith he, of being afraid to own theſe Concluſions; it " ſhall appear by the Grace of God, that I am not afraid to " anſwer him and his Complices, either to his Face, or in the
(*n*) Ibid. pag. 380. " Schools. (*n*) If God will give me a teachable Heart, a perſe- " vering Conſtancy, and Charity towards Chriſt, towards his " Church, and towards the Members of the Devil, who tear " the Church of Chriſt, that ſo I may rebuke them out of pure " Charity, how glorious a Cauſe ſhould I have to die for!

They ſay that his Rage againſt the Church of *Rome*, was becauſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had deprived him of a Benefice.

But beſides, that we cannot build much upon the Teſtimony of Monks, who invented this Fable, *Wickleſ* himſelf proteſts all along, that he had no particular Aim in all his Writings, and
De verit. ſcript. pag. 145, & 15. that he only diſputes for the Honour of God, and the Edification of the Church.

Laſtly, They objected againſt him, that he maintained that every Creature was God; and that God could not hinder himſelf from obeying the Devil.

Bellar. in Præf. Gretz in defenſ. pag. 8. (*o*) Exp. Decal. pag. 46. But the firſt Part of this Objection is ridiculous, and rais'd by Men in a Rage, who put a perverſe Senſe upon the following Words; (*o*) " The word [*God*] is to be taken in a twofold " Manner, abſolutely, Lord of Lords; but when it is con- " tracted or ſpecified by a Mark of Diminution, ſo it ſignifies " any Good that a Man loves moſt. And the ſecond Part of it is wholly grounded upon his Manner of explaining the Doctrine of Providence in the caſe of Sin; which is a Subject wherein it would be an eaſy matter to prove againſt the Papiſts that they have maintained Propoſitions, that ſound as ill as any thing of his; and nothing but the Spirit of Slander, can impute it as a Crime to Divines, that they make uſe of ſome improper Expreſſions in a Matter which is ſo difficult to be handled, without ſeeming to contradict the Idea's which we have of the Holineſs of God, and his Hatred of Sin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Doctrine of the Albigenſes *was propagated in* Spain, *and that it continued there till the Reformation.*

WHatever Perſecutions have been exerciſed againſt the *Albigenſes* by their Enemies, yet we are not to think that they were ever utterly deſtroy'd. We find that this Perſecution continued in a manner without Interruption, until the time of the Reformation. *Friſon*, a Divine of *Paris*; in the Life of *Spondanus* Biſhop of *Pamiers*, reports, that that Biſhop found a Church of them in the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, where they had found a ſafe Retreat from the Violence of their Perſecutors, and where they liv'd apart by themſelves.

We find the ſame thing alſo in *Spain*, where they ſpread themſelves in great Numbers. I grant indeed that there they were very cruelly perſecuted under the Reign of *Alphonſo*, whoſe Edicts againſt them, and the *Waldenſes*, are ſtill to be ſeen: but their Calamities were doubled upon them after the Inquiſition was ſet up, which was not long before the middle of the 13*th* Century.

But with all this, it was thought neceſſary to employ the Pen againſt them, as well as Fire and other Torments. This appears from the Writings of *Lucas Tudenſis*, who wrote under *Gregory* IX, and under his Succeſſor, and who jumbles and confounds them with other Hereticks, and with the *Manichees*, to countenance the Method of the Inquiſition, and to authorize their bloody Executions. It appears from the Writings of this *Lucas Tudenſis*, that they diſputed vigorouſly againſt moſt of thoſe Articles which we find fault with in the Church of *Rome*; and that to convince them, they were obliged to uſe other Methods than thoſe of Diſputing, that is, direct Violence,

lence, which indeed they employ'd in very good earneſt; and we perceive by *Emericus*'s Book, entituled, *The Directory of the Inquiſitors*, that they ſpared neither Craft nor Cruelty to ſurprize them, and bring them to Deſtruction.

Rainaldus tells us, that in the year 1344, one *John du Moulin* Inquiſitor of the Province of *Tholouſe*, proſecuting the *Waldenſes* violently that were ſetled there, they retired from thence, ſome into *Bearn*, and others into *Arragon*, where they were perſecuted at the Sollicitation of this Inquiſitor, who made the Biſhop of *Pampelona* take up Arms to ſuppreſs them.

But yet after all this, we find that the *Albigenſes* were preſerv'd there, and gave no ſmall Trouble to the Inquiſitors. We have an illuſtrious Teſtimony hereof in the Work of a Friar Inquiſitor, of the Order of *Cordeliers*, who wrote in the year 1461, his *Fortalitium Fidei*; In the 11*th* Book, which he entitles, *De Bello Hæreticorum*, he ſets down theſe Hereſies, which he afterwards refutes. Pag. 82, *&c.*

The third Hereſy is, that which ſome Enemies of Chriſtianity do profeſs, who pretend, that Confeſſion has no Virtue of its own to procure the Remiſſion of his Sins to any Man. This they prove after this following Manner:

Firſt; They ſay it is clear, that when God pardons Sin, he doth it not with any reſpect to the Merit of any Man, but of meer Grace; whence it follows evidently, that the Remiſſion of Sins cannot be attributed to a Man's confeſſing of them; for if it were ſo, we muſt own that the Remiſſion is no longer of Free-gift, but that it is a Recompence given by God to the Merit of him that confeſſeth.

Secondly; They ſay, if it be Confeſſion that procures a Man the Pardon of his Sins, what will become of that Paſſage in the third Chapter of the Epiſtle to *Titus*, where it is expreſly declared, *That God hath ſaved us of his Mercy, and not according to the Works of Righteouſneſs that we have done?* Or, how ſhall we explain that in the ninth of the *Romans*, That *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth Mercy?* We know, that the firſt Grace that God works in us, is the Remiſſion of Sins: now if this Grace be abſolutely

lutely the Effect of the Mercy of God, it cannot be the Effect of Confeſſion, which by Conſequence is not neceſſary to Salvation.

And having thus endeavoured to defend their Opinion by Reaſon, they endeavour alſo to back it by the Authority of the Fathers, and quote St. *Ambroſe*, who ſaith upon *Luke*, *St.* Peter *wept, becauſe his Sorrow was ſo great, that it did not permit him to ſpeak; we find that he wept, but not that he ſaid any thing; I read his Tears, but I find nothing of his Confeſſion.*

The fourth Hereſy is of thoſe who acknowledg that we ought to confeſs, but add, that we are not to confeſs to Man. What need is there, *ſay they*, to confeſs to a Man, now under the Covenant of Grace, ſeeing that even under the Law it was ſufficient to confeſs to God, by a ſingle Act of Contrition. They alledg alſo the Authority of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſaith, upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *It is not ſaid, that you need publiſh what your Sins are to the World, neither need you accuſe your ſelf before all Mankind; you are only enjoined to practiſe the Exhortation of* David *in the* 136*th* Pſalm, *That you ſpread all the Parts of your Life in the Preſence of God, that you confeſs to him who is your true Judg, and that you rather expreſs your Repentance by the ſecret Groans of your Conſcience, than by the abundance of Words: this is the true way to obtain Grace from Heaven.*

They make uſe alſo of another Paſſage of the ſame Father, where he ſaith, *If thou deſireſt to have thy Sins blotted out, confeſs them; but if thou beeſt aſhamed to diſcover them to any Body, repeat them every Day in the ſecret of thine Heart: It is not neceſſary to tell them to Men, they might, it may be, afterwards reproach thee with them, but declare them rather to God, who only can give thee ſuch a Remedy as thou wanteſt; and though thou ſhouldeſt not confeſs them to him, yet he ſtill ſees thee, he was preſent, and look'd upon thee whilſt thou didſt commit them.* From all which he concludes, *That we ought to confeſs our Sins only to God.* And this deteſtable Hereſy, which is practiſed in ſecret Aſſemblies, hath already infected a great number of People.

The ſixth Hereſy is of thoſe, who maintain that it is not neceſſary to confeſs to a Prieſt, when a Man can confeſs himſelf to a Layman.

The

The ſeventh Hereſy is, That we ought to obey none but God alone. This is the Error of a certain Arch-Heretick called *Waldo*, from whom the Hereticks that we now call *Waldenſes*, derive their Name. This miſerable Wretch without being ſent from God, took upon him of his own Head to form a new Sect; and without the Permiſſion of any Biſhop, without Inſpiration, without Knowledg or Learning, ſet up for a Preacher; ſo that we may well ſay of him, as *Alanus* doth in his Book againſt Hereticks, that he is a wiſe Man without Reaſon, a Prophet without a Viſion, an Apoſtle without being ſent, and a Doctor who never had Inſtruction. See here how his Followers undertake to defend his Hereſy. " We ſee, *ſay they*, in the *5th* " Chapter of the *Acts*, that St. *Peter* and St. *John*, ſpeaking to " the Scribes and Phariſees, tell them, *Judg ye whether it be* " *reaſonable to obey you rather than God*, and not to do what he " commands us, becauſe you forbid us? Moreover, theſe Hereticks maintain, " That if we obey a Man, when we " ought not to obey him, we commit a Sin, becauſe then we " don't obey God: *Samuel*, *ſay they*, ſaith to *Saul*, in the *15th* " of the *1ſt* Book of *Samuel*, that *Diſobedience* (*or Rebellion*) *is* " *as the Sin of Witchcraft:* Now he that addicts himſelf to Witchcraft, doth in a manner renounce God; but he that refuſeth to obey a Man, doth not therefore commit the Sin of Witchcraft, which Sin is not committed but where a Man refuſeth to obey God. We ought therefore to obey God and not Man, becauſe in diſobeying Man we are not guilty of that Sin, but only when we diſobey God.

The eighth Hereſy is what theſe ſame *Waldenſes* profeſs, that ſuppoſing we ought to obey any Man, it muſt be ſuch a Man as is not under Sin himſelf, and that good Prieſts only have the Power of binding and looſing. This alſo was one of the Errors of *John Havel*, that is to ſay, *Wickleſ*, an *Engliſhman*, who amongſt many others which he taught, maintained, that a temporal Lord, a Biſhop or Prelate, have no Authority as long as they are under mortal Sin. And he hath been followed by another Fox, who aſſerted the ſame thing, *John Huſs* a *Bohemian*; and by another Viper, *Jerom* of *Prague*, who were both of them condemned for Hereticks in the Council held

held at *Conſtance* in the Year 1414, in the Preſence of *Martin* V. They ſay therefore that we ought to be obedient to good Prelats, that is to ſay, to thoſe who are no leſs Succeſſors of the Apoſtles in their Lives and Converſation, than in their Charge and Function; but as for thoſe whoſe Life and Converſation has nothing in it Apoſtolical, they are Hirelings, and no true Shepherds: They endeavour to ſupport this their Error firſt, by the Words of St. *Auſtin*, in his Book of Baptiſm; "That God pardons Sins either immediately by himſelf, or by the Members of his Dove, and that the Saints "can either abſolve us of our Sins, or retain them. He ſaith alſo upon *Exodus*, ſpeaking of the Plate of Gold, which was to be always upon the Fore-head of the High Prieſt: "This Plate was the Teſtimony of a good Life, and that he "only who hath the Teſtimony of a good Life, not in a Figure, but in Truth and Reality, can forgive Sins.

So likewiſe St. *Gregory* declares, "That they only in this "World have the Power of binding and looſing, ſo as the "Apoſtles had, who retain their Doctrine, and imitate their "Examples. And *Origen* ſpeaking of the Power of St. *Peter*, ſaith, That the ſame is alſo granted to thoſe who imitate him, becauſe all thoſe that follow the Foot-ſteps of St. *Peter*, can alſo lawfully bind and looſe. Laſtly, It is ſaid in *Malachy*, Chap. 2. *I will curſe your Bleſſings*: And in *Ezekiel*, Chap. 13. *Wo to thoſe that quicken the dead Souls, and who declare thoſe dead that don't die.* If God, ſay the Hereticks, do curſe the Bleſſing of wicked Paſtors, and declares that the Souls which they pretend to quicken, do not live; how can he communicate his Grace through their Channel?

The ninth Hereſy is profeſſed by the ſame Hereticks, who maintain that it is neither the Office nor the Order, but only the Merit of a good Life, which confers the Power of binding and looſing, of conſecrating and bleſſing; ſo that this is their Concluſion, the Merit of a good and holy Life, *ſay they*, is of greater Efficacy to confer upon any one the Right of conſecrating and bleſſing, of binding and looſing, than the Order or Office: and therefore they have not received any Orders; yet they believe themſelves to be juſt, and to have

the Merits of the Apoſtles, and ſo they take upon them to bleſs as the Prieſts do, and ſay, That they can conſecrate, bind and looſe; becauſe it is the Merit and not the Office that confers this Power. And becauſe they pretend to be the Apoſtles Vicegerents, they ſay, that their Merit, gives them this Charge. In this it is that they chiefly oppoſe the Faith of the Church, and declare themſelves to be Hereticks. But they endeavour to defend their Hereſy, by the Authority of *Eſicius*, who ſaith, That the Prieſts do not bleſs by their own Authority, but only becauſe they repreſent Jeſus Chriſt; and that it is becauſe Chriſt is in them, that they can beſtow their plenary Benediction. And they ſay, moreover, that not only a Prieſt, but every one that hath Chriſt in himſelf, and repreſents him in his Life, as *Moſes* did, has the Power of conferring Bleſſings.

The tenth Hereſy is likewiſe taught by the ſame Hereticks, who maintain that the Diſpenſations or Indulgences which a Biſhop grants at the Conſecration of a Church, or upon any other occaſion, are not of any Value. Their Reaſon is this; Suppoſe, ſay they, that a Man be obliged to a Penance of three Years, at the Conſecration of a Church, and one Biſhop releaſes him of a third part of his Penance; a ſecond and third Biſhop may do the like, and thus for three Half-pence a Man ſhall be releaſed of this three Years Penance: And which is more, theſe ſorts of Diſpenſations are unjuſt, for there is no Proportion between a Half-penny or a Crown, and one whole Years Penance.

The eleventh Hereſy is, That the Prayers which are made for the Dead, by thoſe who are in any mortal Sin, are unprofitable. For, *ſay theſe Hereticks*, how can theſe Prayers do any Service to the Dead, ſince they can do none at all to thoſe who make them? Can Prayers which are hurtful to them that make them, be of any Advantage to the Perſon for whom they are deſigned? *Item, in 3 q. in gravioribus*, it is ſaid, When a Judg is ſollicited for his Favour to a Malefactor, by any one that he hath no liking to, it ſerves only to incenſe him ſo much the more, and to make him pronounce a more ſevere Sentence: So in like manner, if any Man prays without Devo-

Devotion, it is the ſame thing as if he deſired his own Condemnation; for how can any Man whoſe very Prayer is Sin, obtain by that Prayer any good thing for his Neighbour? Or, how can he whoſe Prayer deſerves nothing at the Hand of God but Puniſhment, pray profitably for another, ſeeing God ſaith to the Sinner, *Pſalm* 49. *What haſt thou to do to declare my Statutes, or why doſt thou take my Covenant into thy Mouth?* They call alſo Reaſon to their Aſſiſtance; When a Prieſt, *ſay they*, celebrates the Maſs, he being in mortal Sin, the Action that he doth is evil, and deſerves eternal Puniſhment, and by Conſequence he cannot merit for another the Pardon of his Sins, becauſe it is impoſſible to merit Good and Evil, Reward and Puniſhment by the ſelf-ſame Action. They quote the Canon-Law alſo, which forbids us to aſſiſt at the Maſs of a Prieſt, who we are ſure keeps a Concubine. They prove likewiſe by another Authority, that Men ought not to pray or ſing Pſalms in the Church, as long as they are under mortal Sin.

The twelfth Hereſy is of thoſe who deny Purgatory, and who ſay that it is a meer Invention of the Church to make the People give Alms and Offerings, and to be at the charge of pompous Funerals for the Souls of the deceaſed, or other things of that Nature.

I confeſs he does not mention the *Albigenſes* by Name, and that he confounds theſe pretended Hereſies of the *Albigenſes*, with others that are much more hainous, and ſome that were peculiar to ſome few Monks, and that he attributes ſome of them in particular to the *Vaudois*, as if they had been proper to them only.

But one may juſtly imagine that this Monk, who compiled this Work from the Writings of other Monks or Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, had his Eye upon the *Albigenſes*, becauſe he acquaints us that he follows *Alanus*, and that he copies his Arguments. Now we know that *Alanus* wrote againſt the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, as the manuſcript Titles of his Books inform us, though like the Author of the *Fortalitium fidei*, he confounds them in his Treatiſe with the *Arians*, *Manichees*, and other pernicious Hereticks, to render the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* ſuſpected of defending all thoſe Hereſies which he oppoſes.

It may be thought ſtrange perhaps that this Monk did not imitate *Alanus*, in attributing to the *Albigenſes* the rejecting of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Conſequents thereof; but the Wonder will ceaſe, if we conſider, that he deſigned hereby to deprive the Jews, againſt whom he diſputes, of an Advantage which they might reaſonably draw from ſome Chriſtians rejecting that Opinion, though they owned Jeſus Chriſt to be the *Meſſiah*, and the Books of the New Teſtament to be of Divine Authority at the ſame time; and therefore he rather choſe to refute the Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation, as coming from the Mouths of the *Jews*, than as Objections made by the *Albigenſes*.

And indeed, except the tenth Argument of the Jews againſt Tranſubſtantiation, which ſuppoſes the *Chriſtians* who teach this Doctrine to be no better than brute Beaſts, as not having Senſe enough to know that *Jeſus Chriſt* being a *Jew* by Birth, could not by the Circumſtances of his Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, intend any thing but a figurative meaning, as oppoſed to a real, and that his Apoſtles being *Jews* likewiſe, could not form any other meaning in all this Ceremony, but ſuch as was figurative; there is ſcarce any other which this Monk hath not borrowed from the Diſputes which the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois* have held with thoſe of the *Romiſh* Party.

We cannot but look upon *Petrus Oxonienſis*, a Doctor of *Salamanca*, in the Year 1479, as a Diſciple of the *Albigenſes*, in divers Points, eſpecially thoſe nine Concluſions which this Author was forced to retract by *Sixtus* IV*th*'s Order, who authorized the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* to condemn them. Any Man that reads theſe nine Propoſitions which *Caranza* ſets down, would think that it was only theſe Opinions that offended the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; but if we will but read the Bull of *Sixtus* IV, which has been publiſhed by *Alphonſus à Caſtro*, we ſhall find that this Doctor oppoſed many other Points of Popery: The Pope's Words which are very remarkable are theſe. *Et alias propoſitiones, quas propter earum enormitatem, ut illi qui de eis notitiam habent obliviſcantur earum, & qui de eis notitiam non habent, ex præſentibus, non inſtruantur in eis, ſilentio prætermittendas duximus.* " And there are other Propoſitions, " which

Caranza, pag. 880, *and* 881.

De Hæreſibus, lib. 4. voce confeſſio, p. 310.

" which are of ſo foul a Nature, that we think it convenient " to paſs them over in ſilence, that ſo thoſe who know " them, may forget them, and thoſe that do not know them, " may not be inſtructed in them by theſe our Letters.

CONCLUSION.

THeſe are the Remarks I thought fit to make upon the Hiſtory of the Churches of the *Albigenſes*. I ſuppoſe the Reader will own that I have deduced their Succeſſion from the Apoſtles, and their Independence on the See of *Rome* with care enough, tho the Barbarity of the Enemies of the Truth, has done its utmoſt Endeavours to aboliſh all the Monuments, which theſe illuſtrious Witneſſes of it had left in theſe Dioceſſes.

Neither do I believe, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* will have any pretence for the future, to accuſe them of *Manicheiſm*, nor to reproach the Proteſtants, that they can find no other Predeceſſors in Antiquity, but a parcel of Men, whoſe Doctrine and Lives were equally execrable. Nothing but a Spirit animated with ſuch a Rage and Fury as produc'd thoſe *Cruſades*, can obſtinately maintain ſuch horrid Calumnies, after all that we have here alledged for their Juſtification.

I might perhaps have been more particular in the Accounts which I have given of the bad Conſtruction the Inquiſitors have put upon their Belief; but beſides, that I have ſufficiently diſcovered the Injuſtice of theſe Miniſters of Hell; who is there amongſt the Proteſtants, nay amongſt the very Papiſts themſelves, that is not fully convinc'd of the Iniquity and profound Malice of theſe Hearts of Tygers; who under the name of Defenders of the Chriſtian Faith, have rack'd their Brains to blacken the moſt innocent Lives of the moſt religi-

ous

ous Christians; and who have made it their Diversion to exterminate them by the most dismal Torments?

The Bishop of *Meaux* may write as long as he pleases to maintain these diabolical Calumnies: I am persuaded, that if any equitable Members of his Communion will take the pains to compare the Carriage of the Heathens towards the Primitive Christians, with the Behaviour of his Church under *Innocent* III, and *Gregory* IX, against the *Albigenses*; and the Patience of the *Albigenses*, slandered and persecuted by the Church of *Rome*, with the Condition of the Primitive Church, persecuted and slandered by the Heathens, they will find it as difficult to look upon the Church of *Rome*, as the Daughter of the Primitive Church, as it will be easy for them to acknowledg the *Albigenses* as the genuine Off-spring of those Primitive Christians.

I did not think it necessary for my Design, to tie my self Step by Step to every particular, which I might justly have found fault with in the Book where the Bishop of *Meaux* handles the History of the *Albigenses*: It is an endless Labour to trace a Man that follows false Guides, and who hath nothing new besides the Art and turn of Expression: and because the naked Truth hath always the better of Works of this nature, it is sufficient to set it in a clear Light, for the extinguishing that false Lustre which Men bestow upon Lies, by Ornaments put upon them only to hide their Deformity.

And it is my Hope after all, that as God hath illustriously displayed the Care of his Providence, in raising the Church of *Piedmont* from those Ruins, under which the Spirit of Persecution thought for ever to have buried it; so he will be pleased to vouchsafe the same Protection to those desolate Flocks, whom the Violence of the *Romish* Party hath constrain'd to dissemble their Faith, by making a Show of embracing the *Roman* Religion, to avoid the Extremities of their Persecution.

One would think that that God, who hath wrought so many Wonders for their Preservation, so many Ages together; and who even then, when they seem'd reduc'd to nothing

nothing by the bloody Vigilance of the Inquiſitors, who Age after Age have gleaned this Field, after the barbarous Rage of the Cruſades was over, ſhould be unwilling to ſuffer this oppreſſed Light to be wholly extinguiſhed, but that he will make theſe his Witneſſes riſe from their Graves, now after the Church of *Rome* has ſignaliz'd her Joy for their Death and Deſtruction.

God of his great Mercy be pleaſed to reſtore to theſe afflicted Flocks the ſame Joy and the ſame Comfort which their Anceſtors felt at the time of the Reformation, when they gave ſuch publick Evidence of their Zeal, and entred by Crowds into the Boſom of the Reformed Church, whoſe Principles they had maintained ſo many Ages before the Reformation; and to open the Eyes of their Perſecutors, giving them Grace to acknowledg, that they fight againſt God, whilſt they ſtrive to force Mens Conſciences, and to engage the People to own that Religion as Divine, which is only the Product of human Policy, the very Sink of the Corruptions of theſe laſt Times, and the Off-ſpring of the Spirit of Error.

CHAP.

EXTRACTS

OF

Several Trials

OF SOME

Pretended Hereticks in the Dioceſs of *SARUM*,

Taken out of an old Regiſter.

IN the Name of the Holy Trinite, Fadir, Son, and Holy Goſte, his bleſſed Modir, and al the Holy Compeny of Hevyn; We Auſtyn Stere of Herry Benette of Spene, William Brigger of Thachum, Richard Hignell, William Priour, and Richard Goddard, of Newbery, and every of us ſeverally in the Dioceſs of Sarum, gretely noted, defamed, detecte, and to you Reverend Fadir in God, Thomas, by God's Grace, Biſhop of Sarum, our Jugge and Ordinarie, denownced for untrew belevyng Men; and alſo that we and every of us ſhold hold, afferme, teche, and defende openly and pryvely Hereſies, Errours, ſingular Opinions, and falſe Doctrines, contrarie to the commen Doctrine of our Modir Holy Church; and with

with Subtilites, eville ſoundyng, and deceyveable. to the Eres of true ſympille underſtanding Criſten People, which be to us and every of us ſeverelly nowe by your Auctorite procedyng of Office promoted, judicially objected.

Firſt, That I Auguſtyn Stere, have hold affermed and ſeyd, that the Church of Criſte is but a Sinagoge, and an Houſe of Marchandiſe, and that Priſtis be but Scribis and Pharifais, not profyting the Chriſten People, but diſſeyvyng them.

Item, I have hold affermed, taught and beleved, that in the Sacramente of the Auter is not the very Body of Criſte. Farthermore, ſhewing and ſeying that Priſtis may bie xxx ſuche Goddis for one Peny, and will not ſelle one of them but for two Penys.

Item, I have misbeleved, and to dyvers manyfeſtly ſhewed that Ymages of Seynts be not to be worſhipped after the Doctrine of a Boke of Commandments, which I have had in my keping, wherein is wreten, that no Man ſhall worſhip eny thing made or graven with mannys Hand attending the Words of the ſame litterally, and not inclynyng to the ſenſe of the ſame.

Item, I have ſpoken and diverſe tymes ſhewed that Priſtis be the Enemies of Chriſte.

Item, I have beleyvd, ſaid and taught, that St. Petir was never Priſte, but a little before his Deth. Ferthermore, ſhewing that Simeon Magos geve hym his Tonſure of Prythode, and in Spyte of hym, Goddis Vicar contempnyng hys Power, called hym a Panyer Baker.

Fyrſt, That I Herry Benett, have hold and kepte this Opinion, that Pilgremaggis be not to be made moeved for this Cauſe, for only God is to be warſhipped,

and so not themmagis of Sayntis, insomoch that I wold never goo a Pilgremage but onys, and I have oftyn tymes reprovyd such as wold spend their Money in Pilgremage doyng, seing thei myght better spend hit at home.

Item, I have not belevyd stedfastly in the Sacrament of Thauter, seying of hit this wise, that if there were thre Hostys in one Pikkis, one of theim consecrate, and the odir not consecrate, a Mowse woll as well ete that Hoste consecrate as the odir twayn unconsecrate, the which he myght not if there were the very Body of Crist, for if there were the Fadir, Son, and Holy Goste, he myght not ete theym.

Fyrste, That I William Brigger, have erred and mysbeleved in the Sacramente of the Auter, seyng and holdyng that there shuld not be the very Body of Crist, so taught and enformed in this same grete Errour and Heresie, by one Richard Sawyer, late of Newbery.

Item, I have spoke and hold ayenste the Sacramente of Pennance, seing in this wise; If I have take a Manis Goode, or stole his Cowe, and be sory in Harte, I may as well be saved as though I were shreven thereof, for it is inowe to be shryve to God.

Item, I have held and seyde ayenste the Doctrine of Pystys, affermyng of them, that all Pystes techeth a falle and a blynd way to bryng us all in to the Dyer. Ferthermore addyng herto, and seyng, howe may it be that blynde William Harper may lede anodir blynde Man to Newbery, but both fall yn to the Dyche, so dothe all thes Pistis to bryng us alle to Dampnacion.

Fyrste, That I Richard Hignel, have hold and mysbeleved of long tyme in the Sacramente of the Auter, seyng

ſeyng that Chriſte offeryd to Simeon is the very Sacramente of Thauter, ſo meanyng and beleyvyng in myn Opinion, that the Sacramente in foym of Brede ſhuld not be very Godde, but only Criſte hymſelffe in Heyvn is the Sacramente, and none odir, and ſo I have myſbeleyvyd and continewed in this Errour and Hereſie unto this tyme of Exammacion.

Item, I have be adherente and aſſociat with Hereticks abjured, by whos Doctrine I have erred, as I have afore ſpoken.

Fyrſte, That I William Priour, have ſaid and hold ayenſt the Auctorite and Power of Pryſtis, callyng theim Scribis, Phariſies, and thenmyes of Criſte, not teching but diſſeyvyng the Criſten People.

Item, I have beleyvyd and divers tymes ſhewid that Ymagis of Seynts be not to be wurſhyped, nether Oblacions to be made unto theim, ſeyng and holding no ſuch thing to be wurſhipped that is graven or made with manys hande.

I Richard Goddard in long tyme here before, have had grete dought howe God myght be in foyme of Brede in Thauter, amoſte syn the Yeres of Diſcrecion; and nowe in fewe Yeres thought and utterly beleved that inaſmoch as God is in Heyvn he ſhuld not be in the Sacramente of Thauter, and ſo in this Errour have continewed unto the tyme of this my preſent Abjuracion.

Thes Articules, and every of them afore reherſed, and to us Auſtyn Stere, Herry Benet, William Brigger, Richard Hignell, William Priour, and Richard Goddard, and to every of us ſeverelly by you judicially objected, we and every of us ſingulerly openly knowlege our ſelffe, and confeſſe of our fre Wille to have

hold, lerned and belevyd, and so have taught and affermyd to odir, which Articules and every of theim, as us concerneth severelly, we and every of us understand and belebe Hereſies, and contrary to the common Doctrine and Determination of the universalle Church of Criſte, and confeſſe us and every of us here to have be Heretikes, Lerners and Techers of Hereſies, Errours, Opinions, and falſe Doctrines, contrarie to the Criſten Feith. And forasmoch as it is so that the Lawes of the Churche of Criſte and Holy Canons of Saynts be grounded in Mercy, and God wol not the Deth of a Synner, but that he be converted and leve: And also the Church cloſeth not her Lappe to hym, that woll retorne: We therefor and every of us, willing to be Partiners of this forſeid Mercy, forſake and renounce all thes Articules afore rehersed as us concerneth particularly, and confeſſe theim to be Hereſies, Errours, and prohibite Doctrine: And nowe contrite and fully repentyng theim all and every of theim, judicially and solemply theim forſake, abjure, and wilfully renownce for evermor, and not only theim, but all odir Hereſies, Errours, and dampnable Doctrines contrary to the Determination of the universall Church of Criſte: Also that we and every of us ſhall never herafter be to eny ſuch Perſons or Person, Favorers, Counſelers, Mainteners, or of eny ſuch pryvely or openly; but if we or eny of us knowe eny ſuch herafter, we and every of us ſhall denownce and diſclole theim to you Reverend Fadir in God, your Succeſſors or Officers of the ſame, or els to ſuch Perſons of the Church as hath Juriſdiction on the Perſons ſo fawty, ſo help us God and all Holy Evangelis, ſubmyttyng us and every of us openly, not coacte but of

our

our fre Wille to the Payn, Rigour and Sharpneſs of the Lawe, that a Man relapſed owght to ſuffre in ſuche caſe, if we or eny of us ever do or hold contrarie to this our preſente Abjuracion in parte, or the hole therof: In witneſſe whereof, we all and every of us ſeverally ſubſcribe with our Hands, makyng a Croſs, and requir all Criſten Men in generall her preſente, to record, and witnes ayenſt us and every of us, and this our preſente Confeſſion and Abjuracion, if we or eny of us from this Day forwards offende or do contrarie to the ſame; and ye Maſters her preſente. . .

. . . . . .

. . Lecta & facta fuit iſta Abjuracio coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Thoma, permiſſione divina Sarum Epiſcopo, in Eccleſia parochiali Sancti Johannis de Wyndſour nova, per ſupra ſcriptos Auguſtinum Stere, Henricum Benet, Willielmum Brigger, Richardum Hignell, Willielmum Priour, & Richardum Goddard, xxviii die menſis Januarii, anno Domini milleſimo cccc nonageſimo, præſentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris magiſtris Laurencio Cokks, Edmundo Martyn, Johanne Mayhowe decretorum doctoribus, Daye ſacræ theologiæ profeſſore, Radulpho Hethcote Canonico Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sarum, Willielmo Thynlawe Vicario perpetuo Eccleſiæ præfatæ, Briano & Willielmo Birley artium magiſtris, Thoma Clerke in legibus baccalareo, & Johanne Wely ſcriba & Regiſtrario per dictum Reverendum Patrem in hac parte aſſumpto, & multis aliis.

Quibus quidem die & loco idem Reverendus Pater injunxit præfato Auguſtino Stere, in parte pœnitentiæ ſuæ, quod ipſe Auguſtinus nudus tibias pedes & caput, corpore toga & camiſia ac fœmoralibus lineis tantummodo

modo indutus, unum faſciculum, ſive fagotum ſuper humerum ſuum, & unum facem anglicè a brande in manu ejus geſtans diebus & locis infra ſcriptis, viz. die ſabbati, xxix die menſis Januarii, anno prædicto, circa mercatum ville de Wyndeſour nova, ubi & quando fuerit populi multitudo die dominica extunc ſequenti, viz. ultimo die menſis ejuſdem, circa Eccleſiam parochialem, beatæ Mariæ Rading die Sabbati, quinto die Februarii, circa mercatum de Newbery, die dominica extunc ſequenti, circa Eccleſiam parochialem, ibidem die dominica prima quadrageſime in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sarum, die martis extunc ſequente, circa mercatum ibidem cæteriſque diebus diverſis per loca, ſcil. per Monaſteria de Serne, Milton, Abbottesbery, Abyndon & Shirborn, necnon circa Mercatum ibidem Sarum Diocæſeos coram proceſſionibus circa Eccleſias Monaſteria & loca prædicta, aut in eiſdem locis prout aeris temperies permiſerit, ut moris eſt faciendis more humilis pœnitentis incederet, finitiſque hujuſmodi proceſſionibus vel cum ab aliquo Curatorum hujuſmodi Eccleſiarum ſive locorum proceditur ad pulpitum quibuſdam literis in Anglico ſcriptis errores & opiniones dampnabiles prædicti Auguſtini & ipſius Abjuracionem in ſe continentibus, lectis & declaratis per ipſum Auguſtinum alta & intelligibili voce ſua declarando, exponendo & recitando, ac confitendo publicè, prout in eiſdem literis continetur; de qua quidem pœnitentia per ipſum Auguſtinum bene & fideliter peracta prout ſibi mandatum fuerit per curatos & alios de quibus ſupra ſit mencio præfatus Reverendus Pater & Dominus plenarie & ſufficienter fuerit certificatus; unde poſtea idem Reverendus Pater in tempore certificationis hujuſmodi ſibi factæ in complementum pœnitentiæ

nitentiæ ſuæ injunxit quod ſingulis diebus vitæ ſuæ coram Ymagine crucifixi genuflectendo diceret devote, quinquies oracionem Dominicam, & quinquies ſalutationem Angelicam, & ſemel Symbolum Apoſtolorum, & quod injuncto die paraſſephes & vigiliis beatæ Mariæ per unum annum integrum immediatè ſequentem in pane & aqua. Item, quod lapſo termino ..... dierum per dictum Reverendum Patrem aſſignato ad villam de Newbery, vel ad aliquem locum ſituatum infra ſeptem milliaria à villa de Newbery prædictâ non accideret, niſi ex licentia præfati Reverendi Patris petita primitus & obtenta. . . . . .

FINIS.

Books lately printed for Richard Chiſwell.

THE fifteen Notes of the Church, as laid down by Cardinal *Bellarmin*, examined and confuted, by ſeveral *London* Divines. 4*to*. With a Table to the whole.

The Texts which the Papiſts cite out of the Bible for Proof of the Points of their Religion, examined, and ſhew'd to be alledged without Ground. In twenty five diſtinct Diſcourſes, by ſeveral *London* Divines; with a Table to the whole, and the Authors Names.

The *Lay Chriſtian's* Obligation to read the Holy Scriptures. By Dr. *Stratford*, now Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

Some Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Ancient Churches of *Piedmont*. By *Peter Allix*, D. D. 4*to*.

Reflections upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. In two Parts. 8*vo*. By the ſame Author.

The Judgments of God upon the Roman Catholick Church, from its firſt rigid Laws for univerſal Conformity to it, unto its laſt End: With a Proſpect of theſe near approaching Revolutions: *viz.* (1.) *The Revival of the Proteſtant Profeſſion in an eminent Kingdom, where it was totally ſuppreſſed.* (2.) *The laſt End of all Turkiſh Hoſtilities.* (3.) *The general Mortification of the Power of the Roman Church in all Parts of its Dominions.*

Geologia: Or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earth before the Deluge; wherein the Form and Properties aſcribed to it, in a Book intituled [*The Theory of the Earth*] are excepted againſt: And it is made appear, That the Diſſolution of that Earth was not the Cauſe of the Univerſal Flood. Alſo a new Explication of that Flood is attempted. By *Jonas Warren*, Rector of *Worlington* in *Suffolk*. 4*to*.

The preſent State of *Germany*; or an Account of the Extent, Riſe, Form, Wealth, Strength, Weakneſſes, and Intereſts of that Empire: The Prerogatives of the Emperour, and the Privileges of the Electors, Princes, and Free Cities, adapted to the preſent Circumſtances of that Nation. By a Perſon of Quality. 8*vo*.

Memoirs of what paſt in *Chriſtendom* from the War begun 1672, to the Peace concluded 1679. 8*vo*.

V. CL. Gulielmi Camdeni, & illuſtrium virorum ad G. Camdenum Epiſtolæ. Cum Appendice variii Argumenti. Acceſſerunt Annalium Regni Regis Jacobi I. Apparatus, & Commentarius de Antiquitate, Dignitate, & Officio Comitis Mareſcalli Angliæ. Præmittitur G. Camdeni vita. Scriptore Thoma Smitho S. T. D. Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero.